Life in Kashmir

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S K Ganjoo

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Preface

The task of building a political consensus against terrorism and communalism has been ignored. An evidently embarrassed BJP has retreated into a shell, with its States leadership blaming the National Conference Government for all the problems of the region. The Congress, for its part, has been demanding that Doda be declared a Disturbed Area, a demand it had resisted when the BJP put it forward in 1995. What shapes events will take in Jammu province is clear, but whether there is the will to address the crisis driving the violence remains to be seen. For one, there appears to be no commitment bear the token to providing the armed forces, the paramilitary organisations and the State police the resources they desperately need. The contrast between Advani's dramatic proclamations and reality are only to evident. It may well be possible to end the violence in Jammu province through armed force: but will the communal scars heal?

Editor

Contents

1

Origin and Routes of Kashmir

The roads in ancient Kashmir were not the same as we see these today. Traffic was carried on through rivers and water ways. There were of course thorough fares along which ponnies, bullocks, palanquins and elephants could pass. Villages were jinked by means of foot paths. During the 16th century under Mirza Haidar Dugulat the streets of Srinagar were paved with cut stones. Popular avenues ran from the east to the south of Srinagar.

"Great mountain" barriers, says Kalhan, "had great bearing on the future history of the Valley. These served as great protecting walls. Our land was unconquerable by force of arms". The Chinese travellers, Hiuentsang and Oukong who visited the Valley described the difficulty in crossing the mountains. Alberuni testifies to the same and says that watch stations were maintained at all these passes. An officer with a small contingent of troops was stationed at these places to exercise strict watch over the passes. Nobody was allowed to enter or leave the passes without special pass and permit, 'Khati Rah' "Before the Christian era" says Alberuni, 'only the jews were allowed to enter the Valley". During the medieval times the feudal chiefs were responsible for gaurding these routes. The fortified posts were known as Rehdari Chowkis. Those who were allowed to enter had to have a pass called Parvana Rehdari. It also served as an important check on unauthorised emigration. This system continued up to the reign of Maharaja Ranbir Singh, the second

Dogra ruler. These watch stations are still existent on these passes and the principle routes which lead to the Valley and the neighbouring territories are referred to the indegenious literature and also in the accounts of foreign travellers. Trade and commerce were carried on with other countries through these routes.

The most notable and important route to ancient Kashmir was the Bahsala. The Banihal range runs 35 miles from the east to the west and continues 50 miles after attaining an elevation of 15,524 feet from the sea level from the peak called Tratkut. This route was convenient for communication with Jammu and Himachal Pradesh. A great fort was built at Banihal which existed at the time of Kalhan and was known as "Bansala Castle". Here a pretender Bashkisara was captured and killed when be tried to invade the valley. Banihal is the only all-weather route across the pir panchal range. It was remodelled by Dr. A. Mitru under Maharaja Pratap Singh in 1922, when it was opened to the public. It is at present National Highway.

After proceeding a little further there is a very perilous route which is crossed through a great height of 14,000 known as the Budil pass or the Saidov pass. It connects Srinagar with Akhnoor and Sialkot in the Punjab. It is maintained even now as a track but owing to its shortness it was formerly a favourite route with Kashmiris. Saidov is the first village on the Kashmir side, two moles south of Shopian. Beyond it lies the Darhal pass. About five moles to the north of this pass, we reach the lowest dip of the ranges in the South-West of Shopian at a height of 14,000ft. This is the oldest route known as "old Moghal route" -It was a prominent route since ancient times and connects the valley with rest of the Indian subcontinent. At its opening a great town was built buy king Awanti Verman's minister, Sura, in the ninth century which is called Hure-pur now. While

crossing the pass the king lost 101 elephants and the whole mountain therefore is called Hasvan. He brought 50,000 Brahmans from Gandhara and settled them in the valley. He was a follower of Shiva. The Mughal rulers often used this route for their visit. Mr. Bernier, the first European traveller to Kashmir accompanied Aurangzeb through this route. The Mughal rulers built inns at various places along this route. Prophet's holy relief `hair' was brought to Srinagar by Abdullah Ishbari in 1699 A.D. Maharaja Ranjit Singh tried to invade the valley in 1814 A,D. though this route but his attempts were foiled by the Afghån defenders.

It was the ancient salt route through which salt was imported into the valley from the Punjab salt ranges. Many of the present villages on the way have existed for centuries. Thus Rajuri, Baharam Gull were important for providing rufuge to those who flew from Srinagar on account of political troubles.

Proceeding further west along the same range we find another important route known as the Tosa Maidan Road. There are three more passes adjacent to it namely Sanga Safed, Nurpur, Corgali; all of them difficult to cross. Only the Tosa Maidan route was an important line of communication Owing to its natural advantages it was the shortest and the safest route to Poonch connecting the valley with the Punjab. Mohd,, of Gaznavi tried to invade Kashmir through this route in company with Al-Beruni but failed to reach Kashmir in 1021 A.D. At times when the Mughal route was closed on account of heavy snow the Tosa-Maidan route was closed on account of heavy snow the Tosa-Maidan route was used. If Al-Beruni is to be believed, brisk trade was carried on along this route. Some sort of communication must have existed between Kashmir and South India. Maharaja Ranjit Singh was successful when be attempted to invade Kashmir in 1819 A.D. The portion of Sikh army led by him in person

safely reached the Tosa Maidan plateau. Its importance has also been mentioned by Kalhana to his chronicles. The route started from the mountains of Berue where there was a watch station and custom chowki which existed upto the 19th century. Ruined towers of the fort are still extant. Then the chief and the most notable route was through the Jhelum valley known as the Varamullah-Gandhar route. The route served as a royal route under the Kushans but in medeaval times this route was rendered difficult on account of the hill-men known as Khokhas and Bombas, who often raided Baramullah and Srinagar. After the conquest of Kashmir by the Sikhs of the Punjab,they erected the forts and brought these turbulent tribes under control. Their last raid on Srinagar was in 1856 A.D. Huein Tsang, the Chinese scholar and traveller, entered the valley through this route and was received by the King of Kashmir at Barmullah Ushkar in 631 A.D. The route was difficult and risky owing to the narrow valley with difficult ravines. The route attained eminence under the Afghans who ordered its remodelling thereby affording the shortest and the least exposed line of communicated between Kabul and Kashmir, when the latter was under the control of Kabul rulers. Kalhan calls it, the 'Gandhara route'. The route started fro Varamull. Lalitaditya led expeditions to central Asia through this route. During the Afghan and Sikh rule the route had commercial and military importance. Close to Baramulla there stood once a watch station where a strict check was exercised over the persons on entering or leaving the valley. The village is still known as Dranghabal. During the Budhist rule various vihars were built on the route, such as at Kitsam and Khadanyar villages where travellers and pilgrims could stay. During this period there was a constant movement of people from central Asia to Kashmir via this route. Kalhan mentions that Avantiveman's son led an expedition to Hazara through this route and was

killed on the way. Alberuni gives a detail description of this route in his 'Kitabul Hind' and says this was the best known entrance to Kashmir.

With the dawn of present century, the Jhelum valley road was built and opened for wheeled traffic. The road was joined with Murree at Kohalo 132 moles from Srinagar and was life line of the valley up till the opening of Banihal cart road in the year 1922, when it was thrown open to the public. After 1947 when the subcontinent of India was partitioned, the major portion of the Road came under the control of Pakistan and is therefore closed these days beyond Uri 70 miles from Srinagar pending the settlement of Kashmir dispute.

Along this route there was another which connected the valley through the Kajnag peak to the upper Kishen-Ganga. Pt. Kalhan calls this route 'Sharda route'. The territory between the Kajnag and the Kishen-Ganga was a tributary to the ruler of Kashmir. There stood on the Kishen Ganga an ancient Shrine of the Goddess Sharda. Pilgrims from the valley and other parts of India often used this route to pray at Sharda. Colonies of Afridis were settled to guard the passes. Proceeding along the east there ran one more important route which connects the upper Kishen Ganga with the valley. It stated at Bandipora, in the Matrigam, village,known as the Gurais road leading to Atsore. Gilgit and Baltistan. The road was improved by the British engineers during the 19th century and was called the 'Gilgit transport road' crossing the range of Tragbal about the sea level and Razdhani pass. Pt. Kalhan refers in several passages to the hill forts built during the ancient times which guarded the mountain routes leading to the valley from invasions of the Dards. The watch station and the fort was known as Dud gutta and was incharge of Canpaka, father of our master historian Pt. Kalhan in the reign of Harshdev. Oukong, the Chinese Scholar traveller, who

visited the valley in 759 A.D. calls it the 'Gate of the North. In ancient times this route must have served as a second line of communication with China and central Asia. Beyond this route in the eastern range called Harmukh there is a pass known generally by its Tibetan name Zojila. It was an important thoroughfare in connecting the valley with Ladakh, Tibet and Sinkiang. Pt. Kalhan calls it 'Bhautta land route'. It was through this route that Zaljju the Monghol, invaded Kashmir in 1318 A.D., in whose time only eleven familes have survived in Kashmir. This route is important because it is through this route that in the beginning of 14th Century, the son of Ladakhi chief Lachen Gayaldu, Rinchan the first Muslim ruler, brought the downfall of the Hindu empire in Kashmir. Mirza Haider Daghalat, with his small force entered the valley in 1532 A.D. and established his rule, which lasted for more than a decade. This route must have played a great part in the political, cultural and commercial intercourse between Tibet and Kashmir. Then in the South there was one more route connecting the valley with Kashtiwar. This route never played any important role in foreign relations, or trade except during the rule of pathans, when it served as an exit for the inhabitants of the valley during famines. This route is known as Marbal route. After crossing the pass Wardwan and Chinab are crossed by bridges under construction these days. The route is generally closed in winter due to heavy snow-fall.

At Gurais on Gilgit transport road, there is one more route which leads across Kamri pass to Astor and Gilgit. At Burzul, the last halting place on this side of water shed two roads part, the one leads to North East across Deosai plateau to Skardu.

Rivers of the valley

Description of the valley is not complete unless some

mention is made of its useful river Jhelum known as Hydaspes of the ancient Greeks and Bidaspas to Ptolemy, corruption of the Sanskrit name Vitasta to our ancient, Behat to medeaval Sultan and to us as Vyath derived from Vithavutur. Vyath our word for Jhelum, is the direct phonetic derivation of the ancient Sanskirt Vitasta i.e. The name Jhelum is of Muslim origin as Alberuni call it Jhelum implying slowness. Shrivar when relating an expedition of Sultan Haider Shah into the Punjab Sanskritizes this name into Jyalami. Another version connects the river Jhelum with the place Vithavutur, a small village one mile north-west of Vernagh. When it leaves Baramullah it is called Kashur Darya and after the distance of 80 moles at Domel it drains Neelan the northern rivers of Kashmir basin in Gurais, Telail and Skardu. It is spoken as Jhelum river.

Vernag is the reputed source of Jhelum, and the blue waters give life to the valley. It is the spring of the Ver which is the name of the pargana called Shahabad from the days of shahjehan. The spring was orginally a shapeless pond and water oozing out from different places in it, spread about and formed a little marsh. Jehangir built the Octagonal tank of Sculptures. It it ten feet deep and was constructed in 1612 A.D. To the Brahamins of the valley it is sacred and is known as Nila Kund or Nilanagh. From Vernag to Khanabal spring water flows into a small stream to 16 moles where a hen can cross at some places. It is the Lidder from the lake Sheshnagh flowing through the Pahalgam valley which branches off into several streams and forms parganas of Dachhanpur and Khovarpur and meets Jhelum at the village Gur below Khanabal Sandran, a small stream flows from Brang valley, the Arapat stream from Kothar Kukarnagh and Achabal spring water join the river just near and above Khanabal. From Khanabal to Baramulla the river becomes navigable for fifty four miles. Further

north the "Jhelum behaves like a clever financier building its capital on the wealth of other. The river Jhelum is a tributary river par-excellence". Further down on the right bank the river receives a channel water of the great Arapalnag at Charsu village near Avantipur, and catchment areas of wastervan hills and the mountains above Tral, At Pampur a small amount of water from irrigation channels of Khrew and Balahom villages falls into the river above Joinerry mills. In the city Jhelum is joined by a stream which drains the lake to the east of the city. The lake is Dal, which is fed by the plentiful streams and springs of the Mahadev and Zabervan hills. The Water flows out towards Jhelum by a canal which is Tsunthkul. The canal passes through embankment called sathu Sadiqazi which protect the old city and low shores of the Dal from floods of the rover. The bund was originally built by king Parversen in 7th Century from Drugjan to Kralkhud Habbakadal and again it was raised by Mohd Qasim. Qazizada, a poet in the Moghal court. The lock gate of the Dal lake was built in 1938 A.D. afresh at Drugjan. Tsunth Kul joins Jhelum at Dubjit Ghat, Gow Kadal opposite to the old secretariati building. The Dal water flows through Koshal sar and anchar lake and joins at Shadipur. At Gow Kadal, Jhelum branches off to the left side and is known as Kutakul which rejoins the Jhelum river at watal Kadal and Chachbal through Nawabazar and S.M.H.S.Hospital Srinagar through its one more branch known as Sonar Kul and passes through sayyed Monsor Ziyyarat.

The Sind river joins at Shadipur the place of marriage of the two rivers. It is an important tributary of the Jhelum. The traditional source of the sind is the sacred lake known as Gangabal town. The Sind also enters Anchar lake near Ganderbal. After passing in the Wular lake Jhelum receives water of Modimuti river near village Kalos Bandipur and from various channels of

Harbuji,Arrah, Erin-Nullahs in the east of Wular lake. The Wular is the largest fresh water lake in India 10 miles long and 6 miles wide. The Jhelum river leaves it in the west near Sopur which is a typical delta town formed by siltation. The river becomes shallow and sand banks appear in the river bed obstructing navigation. It is only in spring that rainfall causes the snow the melt at higher elevation in the surrounding mountains and causes floods. The river Jhelum is therefore blessing and a curse too. Below Sopur at Doabagh village it receives the Pohru Nullah which drains the Lolab and Kamail streams, Ramahal and Mawar areas in Handawara and Kupware Tehsils.

On its left bank it receives the drainage of western mountains like Vishov. It is an important tributary fed by the lake Konsarnag. It joins the river below Sangam Bridge after irrigating Kulgam area which is the granary of Kashmir. Aharabal waterfall lies in this area. The Rambiar is another tributary from the Pir-pass. In its upper course logs of timber are floated down in the stream.

Romushi is another tributary of the Jhelum. It flows from Kharmarg and becomes a river at Pakherpur. The Sukhnag collects drainage from the neighborhood of Gulmarg and its environs. Dudganga flows from Ludermarg in a centre of pirpanchal near Tratakuti. It flows to the south of Srinagar and the Forazpur Nullah in the western mountains of the Baramullah, Gulmarg area with many spring and ice and the Apharwat, Khilanmarg, Ala pather,Gagrimarg, Banilmarg and Kantirnag. The Sukhnag and Ferozpur streams lose themselves in the large marshes under the banks of Jhelum and Ningle which flows into the Wular Lake. Of these streams the Pohru, Sind and Vishov are navigable for a short distance.

Most of the internal trade in the valley was carried by the river Jhelum and its tributaries. That from ancient times the boats were the principle means of transport and travel is shown by the frequent references to river journeys, boats and boat bridges and ghats are landing places in the chronicales of Pt. Kalhan. This continued upto the beginning of this century when wheel traffic was introduced and Jhelum valley road was opened. Boat men were engaged whose number was 3400 in1891.

Dr. Bernier says that there were only two wooden bridges spanning over the Jhelum river. Forestor another traveller in 1783 to Kashmir when it was ruled by Afghan ruler Azad Khan there were five bridges on the Jhelum river. The first bridge on the contilever principle was built by Sultan Zainulab-ud-Din. There is a mention of boat bridges in existance before Muslim rule in Sharaf-ud-Din Yazdi's Zaffar Nama.

Jhelum is generally silted up between Doabgah and Khadanyar villages below Barmulla. The waters of Pohru Nullah creates obstacles in the flow of water and large areas of cultivable land in Sopore and Sonawari Tehsils remained submerged during the whole Summer season. The state Government has recently employed electrically worked dredgers through which silt and other obstruction from the river bed are removed and danger of floods in upper reaches has been lessened. Much land has now been reclaimed around the Wular Lake. This has been done on the advice given to the State Government by Dr. Uppal, irrigation engineer Govt. of India who visited the area in the early fiftees. There is a passage in Sanskrit in Rajtarngni which brings out that when King Kalash who was staying at Vijayeswara wished to pass his last days at the temple at Mattan, he was carried by the water route in boats along with his ministers to the nearest ghat or landing place at Khanbal, Anantnag.

Capitals of the country were built on the banks of Jhelum. All produce of the country was brought to great centre by water. Villages had the regular places of landing :- Yarbal on the river of the nearest navigable water way. Most of the capitals and important towns were situated on its banks. One of the main capitals was that of Srinagar. The rulers of Kashmir were eager to have their capitals on the banks.

Srinagar, the city royal is an "emarald set in stone" is one of the oldest cities in India and its present name is Srinagar. During the Muslim rule it was called Kashmir or locally Shahari Kashmir or Kashir and Alberuni notes that the city of Kahmir covers a space of four farsakhs. But when the Sikhs conquered Kashmir in 11819 A.D. they restored the old name Srinagar, which was originally Shrinagari founded by Asoka in the third century B.C. on the banks of Jhelum.

Old Srinagar

kalhana, who lived in the beginning of the twelfth century, mentions in his Rajtarangni the city of Srinagar, a city in the south-east of modern Srinagar, most probably situated near the present- Pandrethan-, he calls it " puranadhisthan" on the banks of Jhelum. It was in was in the third century B.C. that Ashoka the Maurayan emperor, built this city. It was the capital of Kashmir up to the 6th century. A.D.. In the neighborhood of this city his son. Jalauka, built a grand shrine called Jyestharudra, which is at present Zeethyair Tirtha. But Dr. Stien an eminent indologist, believes it the present Shankera Acharya Temple. Kalhana credits Ashoka with the construction of 6,000 dwelling houses, resplendent with prosperity, in this city. While the city was under construction, he also built stupas and Viharas in Hukhalitr and Vithvotr, villages at present in Beru and Shahabad Doru Tehsils.

Medeaval historians of Kashmir namely Haider Malik of Chodur and Mohd. Azam, Diddamari mention that the old Srinager which king Ashoka is said to have built is present Sir now Sir Kanli Gund, on Anantnag Pahalgam road mile 44 on the left bank of Lidder stream in Khovarpur pargana. To this tradition refers probably Prof. George Buhlar, "Some pandits of the valley also think that it lay near Islamabad" This theory is not correct now.

The site of the present Srinagar was selected by Parversena II who called in Pervarpur between or Parversenpur which was shortened to Pervapur. Nagara means the city and Shri is the name of the goddess Lakhsmi and may be taken to mean wealth or beauty and sovereignty. Shri here does not mean Surya or the son and it is a mistake to call Srinager, the city of sun. The city of Srinager is between two hills Hari-par VAt 500 ft. high and Takhti-Sulamian 1000 ft. high. The river Jhelum flow through the capital and connects both parts of the city with bridges. Upto 1958 it had seven bridges in all and now there are eleven bridges . Srinagar has now an area of 11 miles in length & 6 miles in breadth. It is situated in the centre of the valley of Kashmir and at an elevation of 5,250 ft. The Srinagar valley is enclosed on all sides by mountains and is shut and does not share in general air circulation of the Punjab and Western Himalaya area. In spite of the elevation, July and August are hot and some what humid. But spring and Autumn are very pleasant. The mean temperature is 35°F in January and 98°F in July. The year 1978 temperature was 38.5° C the highest temperature record after 32 Years. The annual rain fall exceeds 27"

King Perversen built this city a few miles to the North of the old capital. It extended from Zadibal to present Habba Kadal, Tenkipur and Zaindar mohalla. The King's palace was located somewhere below

Habbakadal on the left bank most probably in the area of Dalhasanyar and Sona-Masjid with its landmarks of Hari Parbat and Shankarchayara hills. The city was dotted with many stones temples dedicated to Shiva, Durga Kali, and Bharrvas. Even at present traces can be found of sculptured blocks, pillars and images. Pt. Kalhan, another Kashmiri scholar found the city of Srinager most charming and surpassing to all other cities for the beauty of its grooves and coolness in summer. Even those who have reached the garden of Celestials could not forget it. Hiuen-Tsang, Chinese scholar and traveller who visited Kashmir in 631 A.D. Calls it the 'new city' .He says "the old city lay to the East. it was on the banks of the Vitasta and the founder had embellished it with many palaces and temples. The king had got a wooden bridge constructed across the river Vistasta.probably near present Narparistan mohalla, Srinager. "The history of Srinager is very interesting. It was destroyed and rebuilt several times. The houses were mainly of timber as they are not Pr. Kalhana mentions several pleases, the splendour of markets nd mansions which were so high as to seem to reach the clouds. How it lost its name of Pravarpur and assumed that of the city of Srinagar is difficult to say. Perhaps it was the old name that remained in common use with the people.

The founder of Srinager seems to have a highly developed sense of town planning. The city was divided into Eight wards for the folklore tells us that each was supervised by a ward officer called Bhairav. They are still worshipped today by the pandits of Srinager, as the guardian dieties, of different parts of the city. More than one fair is held in their honour each year usually in the month of December or April

Rainawari and Dal lake and its neighbourbood are under one ward officer named Vitalaraja Bhairav,in whose honour two fairs are held in Poh and the other in

Vaiskah both on the sixth day of dark fortnight of December.

Sathu, Barbarshan, Amira-kadal, and Ganapatyar are under the control of Anand Ishwar Bhairav whose temple stands at Maisum near Badshah Chowk. The annual fair in his honour is held on the tenth day of the dark fortnight of December. The left bank of river Jhelum Habakadal, Tankipora, Dalhasanyar, and Doodganga formed another ward. The temple of its guardian diety is Teshkaraja Bhairav. The temple is situated on the right bank of Doodganga in Karan-nagar locality. Devotees congregate here with their offerings at the time of annual fair which is usually held on the sixth day of the dark night of the month of Vaisakh.

At the confluence of the Doodganga and Jhelum at Chambal there is another temple marking the spot which is sacred Bhakhtishwar Bhairav, who controls Safa-kadal, Chambal and Dadimar localities.

On the right bank of river Jhelum the areas comprising Ali-Kadal, hari- Parbat and Maharajganj Bhairav, whose shrine lies on an island opposite M.P. Higher Secondary SChool, Srinagar and is marked by shade Mullberry tree.

On the left bank of river Jhelum the localities of Gorgari Mohalla, Nawa- bazar and jmallatta were presided over by jayksen Bhairav.

The land beyond Noorbagh, Sekidafar and Waniyar and the lands beyond are under the charge of Vishksen Bhairav. pandits of Srinagar offer their prayers generally on Tuesday and Saturday and distribute husked rice mixed with parts of sheep's liver and is distributed among those who are present at the congregation.

Srinagar is the terminal of one of the centres of Asia trade route, while its chief locality these days is

Mayasum which was an island formed by the Tsunti-Khul canal and Jhelum and acremation ground for the city people. During Mughal and Phathan rule it was densely planted ny mullberry trees and was hence called. "Maidani Maisuma" and now are the head quarters of civil lines, hotels,club, Head post office and head telegraph offices, banks, tourism, Government Arts Emporium etc. It is now the centre of Srinagar-State Chief Minister also reside here. Tsere a decisive battle was fought in Oct-Nov 1846, between Maharaja Gulab Singh and the Sikh army. Both, the armies had assembled near the present pologround. the Maharaja fired an artillery cannot from the hillock of present Ramji's temple, Burbarshah. The Sikh army retreated to the Srinagar for and thus Maharaja won the day. In honour of Rama, the Khisrtrya good, he built the temple at the site which is Ramji's the Khisrtrya god, he built the temple at the site which is Ramji's temple in 1847-48. His commander in chief wazir Lakhpat Rai was killed in the battle whose Samadhi stands opposite to the Catholic Church Srinagar.

Bijbihara or Vijabror, abbreviated from Vijayeswara is said to have been founded by king Vijaya. The tradirtion regarding Ashoka's connection with it supplies historical proof for its antiquity. Vijbror is wrongly pronounced as Bijbehara. Ashoka, when he was governer of Gandhara province, followed the cult of Shavism and built two temples here and named these as Ashokaesvara. he built a massive stone wall around these temples after dismantling the old stucoo enclosures and credited these with having propitiated by a fast, Lord Bhuteshware at this famous shrine. This is fully inkeeping with what from other evidence, we conclude as to Ashoka's attitude towards other religious systems that he figures in Kashmir record also as the benefactor of the ancient and famous shrine of Vijayeshware, and worshipper at the Shiva Shrine at Bhutesha. These two

shrines were situated on the, right side of the Jhelum river, at a place known as Soma or Somthung. Tradition has it that the temple had a statue of a cow hanging in the dome of the temple. Mihirakul, the Hun King, brought one thousand Brahmans from Gandhara and settled them here. During the 11th century several decisive battles were fought between Sussal and Anantdev the city was burnt down along with Vijayeshwar temple. In 1861 A.D. Maharaja Ranbir Singh removed the debris of the Vijayshnar temple and built a new temple a new temple just near the present bridge.

Dara Sukuh built a bridge over Jhelum in 1631 A.D. It is now in ruins. The Badshahi Bagh is remembered on account of the slab which bears the following inscription: "By the grace of God, Dara Shukuh on the 22nd day of Ramzan in the year of he Hijra 1060, in the reign of Shah Jahan Badshaj Ghazi, Completed this building which was erected under the superintendence of Darugha Muhammad Zahid Abul Hassan Samarqandi. "The site of the Badshahi Bagh lies on the right bank of the river to the south of the present bridge. The shrine of the saint and scholar Abul Fuqura baba Nasib-ud-din Ghazi is situated on the left bank of the river near the Jamia Masjid. His grave stands to this day as a ziyarat. He was a disciple of baba Daud Khaki. Ghazi was born in 977 A.H. 1569 A.D. and died in 1047 A.H. 1637 A.D. at Bijbihara. Scholars are indebted to him for publishing for the first time, the account of the life of Shaikhu Aalam Shaikh Nur-Ud-Din Rishi under the title of 'Nur-nama'in persian. Hitherto Nur-ud -Din's life was in Sanskrit in Sharada script.

Avantipur: It was built in the ninth century A.D. on Jhelum, by an illustrious ruler in the person of Avantiverman. He built the city of Avantipur present "Wontipur "on a high and dry spur, of the Wastarwan hills. Owing to its central and strategic location in the

Valley, the town has been of considerable importance since the date of its foundation and hence is often mentioned in the Samayamatrika of Kshemendra and in the Chronicles of Kalhana, Jonaraj and Srivara. The large number of ruins extending up to the hills to the east of the present Avantipura town shows that in former times it used to cover a large area. It was a flourishing city up to 12th century A.D. when it was destroyed and burnt down by Damars

Narapur city: kalhana mentions the existence of a grand and important city called Narapür on the bank of river jhelum on the left side near the present Bijbehara. His description is elaborate. He says the markets of the city were kept full of supplies by the high roads leading to it. Big boats used to ply on up and down giving splendour to the river. Its gardens were full of flowers and fruits. Local tradition mentions the shrive of Chakradhara Vishnu in the town of Narapur on the Karewa of sumthan village, near Sangam. Pilgrims from fars off places would offer their prayers. The city was burnt was down along with the shrine of vishnu by king Bhascikara while fighting Sussal. Another name of this city was Kimnarpora. it was encircled by walls. There is not trace left of this grand city now except a few hamlets on Srinagar- Anantnag Highway.

Pampore: The city was founded in the first quarter of the ninth century by king padma, maternal uncle of jayapida. Because of its central position in the valley the city grew in importance and is frequently mentioned in Rajtarangini. Here is a temple dedicated to Vishnu and which was destroyed by the rules of Shaivite creed and Damaras and its wealth was taken away. here is Jamia Masjid and the Ziarat of Shoga baba Sahib.

Parihaspur: In the middle of 8th century the great king of Kashmir Lalitaditya founded the city of

Parihaspur of paraspur as it is now called by the locals and is situated 21/2 miles south west of Shadipur' and is in between the village of panznoir and Haratrath and stretching from there on a Karewa of Ichman Deer, on the banks of Jhelum. Unfortunately the city of paraspur had remained unidentified till 1892 A.D. when the ruins of this city were found for the first time by Dr. Stein. The city was already known to our earlier chroniclers like haider Malik of Chodra, Mohmad Azam of Diddmari, Birbal Kachru and Narayan Koul. It was built in the centre of the valley so that view could be obtained from the Indus Vally to Harmukh and Mahadev. No. City was ever set in more lovely set in more lovely surrounding than paraspur. Lalitaditya built this city out of the vast treasures which he had brought from the subdued regions. Lalitaditya, erected five large building in this city.

1. The temple of parihasa Keshaya with a silver image.
2. The temple of Mukta - Keshva with golden image.
3. The temple of Mahaveraha with an image clad in golden armour.
4. The temple of Goverdhanadhara with a silver image.
5. The Rajvihara Buddhisht monastery with a large quadrangle and a colossal statue of Buddha in copper. This indicates that there must have been large settlement of Buddhists. He erected stone pillar 54 cubits high with an image of Garuda on the top.

The city throws light on the religious conditions of Kashmir. The chinese pilgrim Çukong who visited - parihaspur in 759 A.D. only a few year after Laitaditya's death says that Buddhist cult was in flourshing condition and there existed numerous vihars and stupas. He says Buddha's image was brought from Maghadha by his Prime Minister and for a pretty long time was existing

even at the time Kalhana is 1148 A.D. A great religious festival was celebrated n′the month of March every year to commemorate the victories of Lalitaditya. But as ill luck would have it, two centuries later copper statute of Buddha and other silver images were removed and melted down by king harsha and in the rising which led to the downfall of king Harsha 1089 A.D. Parihaspur was occupied and burnt the pretender to the throne of Uccals. The steep slopes of the plateau and marshes around it made it a position of military value. When uccala had suffered a defeat, some of routed rebels threw themselves in RAj Vihara monastery which was subsequently burnt and raised to the ground. Thereafter parihaspur ceased to be the royal residence and Laitaditya's son Vijraditya, removed its foundation. King Avantiverman diminished its importance further. His irrigation Minister Suyya Berman effected the regulation of river Jhelum and diverted its junction 3 miles away near Shadipur. A century and a half later Avantiverman's son Shanker Verma carried away the structural material from parihaspur and used the same material for the construction of his new city and temples at Shankerpattan, Even during the last decades of 19th century it was robbed of its valuable construction material by Maharaja Pratap Singh's government for the metalling of Jhelum valley road which was later on put to stop by Mr. Talbot, the then British REsidence in Srinagar.

The city of parihaspur is the birth place of our great master poet historian Kalhana pandit, the author of Rajtarangini son of a great Kashmirian Minister the illustrious lord Canpaka during the region of ill-fated king Harshadev.

City of Jaypur: There existed one more city of importance on the banks of Jhelum known as Jaypur built by Lalitaditya's grand son Jayapida at the close of

8th century which is identified with its present village of Anderkot in Tehsil Sonawari near Sumbal village. It was a flourshing city and was built on an island rising from the Subal Lake. The fort of Anderkot was surrendered by Kota Rani the last Hindu Queen of Kashmir to Shah Mir, her minister. There is no trace left of this grand city except a few hamlets. Jayapida built temples and vihars in this city and his queen Kamal Devi built grand Matha in this city. In its neighborhood lies the great Sultan of Kashmir Sultan Shamus-ud-Din buried, which is in a bad state of preservation.

Sopur: It is an important delta town created by the siltation of Wolur-lake. It was founded during the reign of Avanti-Verman by his irrigation Engineer Minister, Suyya vermanin the second half of 9th century, named it as Suyya pur on the banks of Jhelum where the river leaves water from the wolar lake. Sultan Zainul-Abddin constructed a bridge across jhelum in 1462 for a long time it has remained the capital city of Kamraz. Suyyapura became a centre of trade in the North VAlley. It is a flourshing town next to Srinagar at present. For the last few centuries it was often raided along with the other towns of the valley by the Gojjar Tribes of the Jhelum Valley known as "Khokas". Even mothers frighten their crying children by saying that khokas have come. Their last raid on the valley was in 1856 A.D. in the reign of Maharaja Gulab Singh who brought these turbulent tribes under control and repaired the fort at Sopore already built by earlier pathan rules. Here Jamia Masjid was built-by-Aurangzeb Aalamgir.

Havishkpur: Close to Baramulla on the Srinagar Highway there existed one more city called Havishkpur which is a mere village at present two miles in the east of Baramulla. It retained its importance for the long times as the headquarters of Buddhist monks and also as the first town of note in the valley at its entrance from the Jhelum

valley road. Alberuni gives its exact location. Lalitaditya built an image of Mukta Swamin. The remains of the ancient vihara and stupa can be seen near the village at présent. He also built a grand Buddhist monastery and vihara which served as the resting place for the chinese traveler's and scholar's, Ou Kong and Hiuen Tsang. Here, in A.D.631 the king of Kashmir Durlabhvardhan (625-661) A.D. received with great pomp and show the chinese travelers and scholars Hiuen Tsang who came here for study of sutras and sastrus. The king escorted him from the capital Hushkapur to Srinagar as jaya vindya vihara, which has been located near the present Jamia Masjid Srinagar.

Jushkapur: It is present days Zukar 10 kilometers from srinagar in the north near. It was founded by Tartar rular, Jushka.It must have been a center of trade and learning. In its vicinity a grand vihara, named Amrit Bhavan,was built, a mohalla extant known as Wonta Bhawan.

Damodhara city: For many year after Ashoka's death Kashmir was ruled by a prince named Damodhara,whose descent is not clear. He is believed to have founded his capital city on the present airport plateau called Yachhigam pargana. In order to raise water for drinking and cultivation for his city, he erected a dam called "Gud Sathu", which is an extant village. When deplore Kalhana,a high minded man wished to execute some benifical work of an extraordinary character, there rise alas: obstacles from the deficiency of men's spiritual merits from former births. One day Damodhara was going to the river to perform his customary ablutions in the vistsata when he was importuned for food by some hungry brahmins; he deferred with there complying solicitations till he had bathed in the river at some distance; to shorten the interval they proposed to bring the river to him; immediately the water of the Vitasta

bubbled up from different places near them, forming the springs that are still to be seen. The king was unmoved by this miracle and still determined to bathe in the genuine stream; the Brahmins pronounced a curse upon him and transformed him into a snake; in that shape he haunts the grounds near the capital and is often to be seen in the dark solitude of the plateau.He earth we live on is like a mere speak of dust in the air, and the span of man's life on it is very short in comparison to the estimated age of the planet. It is figured out that the earth was formed about 5,000 million years ago, and man has lived on it for only about five million years. But during this short period, he has passed through various stages of development, and the discovery of the fossil remains of skulls, bones, tools, etc., buried in the earth has made it possible to plot them fairly well.

Believed to have evolved or developed within the animal kingdom, man belongs to the group called primates, which includes the apes and monkeys. And the oldest man-like primates are believed to have lived in southern Africa from about one to two million years ago. They seem to have been cave dwellers and might have used simple tools. More developed creatures, such as the Java Man and the Peking Man, were born about 500,000 years ago. They probably used for heating and cooking. The Neanderthal man lived about 100,000 years ago in parts of Europe. As he was skilled in the use of tools and weapons, he is given the name of Homo Sapines or "Man, the wise one".

The entire history of early man is, however, divided into two periods-the Palaeolithic or the Old Stone Age and the Neolithic or the New Stone Age. During the first period, he wandered about from place to place, hunting animals and gathering edible plants. He had no idea of agriculture, nor probably did he know to make a fire. from a food gather in this period, he became a food

producer in the next. Though his weapons were still made of stone, as in the old age, they were now more effective and easier to handle. He also came to practise agriculture, domesticate animals, make pottery and produce fire by the friction of stones or pieces of wood. Woven clothes were put on and caves were used as places of shelter by him.

The Stone Age was followed by another in which man began to use metals for the making of tools and weapons and live in planned towns.

India also is one of those countries in the world which became a centre of man's civilization in the most ancient times. Archaeological discoveries in many of its parts show the widespread existence of the Palaeolithic and Neolithic men who fashioned rough tools of stone similar to those found in the other areas of globe. But unlike some of those areas of the world where the New Stone Age is believed to have begun around 7,000 B.C, in India the Neolithic settlements are not older than 6,000 B.C.

It also cannot be said with certainty whether the people who inhabited India in the beginning belonged to the country itself or came from outside. The debate is still going on. The consensus of opinion at present is, however, that they belonged to the equatorial or Negroid race. Coming from Africa by way of Arabia and the coast-lands of Persia, they spread over the western southern and north eastern parts of India. A group of them went even to the Andaman Islands. Today, they are virtually extinct. Being probably food gatherers, they do not appear to have contributed anything of importance to the Indian civilization.

The Negroids were followed by the Proto-Austroloids. Called the Nishadas in the ancient Indian literature, the latter are regarded as a very old off-shoot

of the Mediterranean race from Palestine. A branch of them passed on to Australia and Tasmania. Even today their descendants are found among the lower classes all over India.

The next to appear on the scene were the Mongoloids from their homes in north-western China and Mongolia. The spoke the non-Dravidian languages known at Mon-Khmer languages belonging to the Tibeto-Chinese and the Siemese-Chinese family. Along with the Proto-Austroloids, they are believed to have contributed a lot to the Indian culture. Use of pottery, bow and arrow, and hoe is attributed to them. Some fruits and vegetables like banana, brinjal, coconut, betel, pumpkin, besides cotton and rice, are presumed to have been cultivated by the Austric people. They also seem to have known the domestic fowl, the peacock, the elephant and the horse or ppny. The use of turmeric and vermillion in religious ceremonies, milk and tea as drinks, some food taboos and magical beliefs are their other contributions.

Later, a wave of Dravidian people, also from the eastern Mediterranean, swept across India. Some scholars believe that they were the creators of the well-known Indus Valley Civilization. Their influence is quite strong even in contemporary India and they inhabit practically the whole of its southern part. They brought with them the cult of Siva and the institution of Yoga. They knew the use of canoes, boats and ships, and gave the world the earliest municipal planning. All the necessary arts of life, including agriculture, spinning and weaving, and dying were practised by them. Puja, or the offering of flowers, leaves, fruits and water to a god, is their gift. Certain usages regarding the prohibited degrees in marriage and the practice of disposal of the dead by cremation also owe their origin to them.

The Dravidians could not stand, at least in northern

India, before the Aryans who came next and were better organised. The latter possessed horse and the best variety of wheat. The use of milk on a large scale, alcohlic drink, dancing, chariot racing and tailored, garments were the other important features of their culture. But their chief gift id the Sanskrit language. They worshipped various powers of nature conceived of as forces with certain human qualities. Their ritual was that of the offering or libation put into the sacrificial fire. This and other rituals were performed by a priestly class, the Brahmans. Besides the Brahmans, there were three other classes, into which their society was divided , viz, the Kshatriyas (the rulers and warriors), the Vaishas (the businessmen) and the Shudras (the serfs).

The entry of the Aryans into India is variously dated from 5000 B.C. to 1500 B.C. The route taken by them and the part of India first occupied by them also are still moot points. In any case, there is no evidence to suggest that they first settled in Kashmir or even passed through it. On the contrary, if a mythological tradition is to be believed, the Aryans penetrated Kashmir through the Panjab which they had occupied much earlier. This tradition, contained in the Nilamata Purana, throws further light on how the Valley Kashmir was formed, who were its early inhabitants, and how they reacted to the Aryan penetration into their land. We would, therefore, do well to take note of it here in some detail.

The Nilmata Purana says the Velley of Kashmir, called Satidesa, was originally a lake known as Satisaia, i.e. the lake of Sati, named after Parvati, the divine consort of Lord Siva. In this area lived Kadru and Vinata, two wives of Kashyap, son of Marichi and grandson of Brahma. While Kadru had Nagas, the serpants, as her sons, Vinata's sons were the birds Garuda and Aruna. The green-eyed monster in them did not allow the serpants and the birds live peacefully. In their struggle

against each other, Garuda approached Indra, "obtained the boon of eating the Nagas", and threatened their very existence. Inn sore straits, Vasuki, the chief of the Nagas, appealed for help to Visnu. The god told him that he "along with the pious Nagas may dwell in the country of Sati, in the sky like lake of holy water. The enemy of the serpants shall not kill those serpants who will make their abode in that lake. O Lord of the Nagas, my mount-the enemy of the Nagas-shall not kill him who, with his abode in the country of Sati, dwells unthreatened from all sides. O highly fortunate one, coronate Nila in the kingdom of those highly strong Nagas who shall dwell in the country of Sati". Vasuki acted accordingly and with that ended the enmity between the two sides.

The legend goes on to say the after some time Indra, along with his consort, came to Satisara on a pleasure trip. A Daitya chief, named Sangraha, another descendant of Kashyap, then cast his covetous eyes on Indra's wife and wished to carry her away. This led to a clash between Sangraha and Indra, which lasted for about a year. Ultimately, the former was defeated and killed.

From Sangraha was born a son, Jalodbhava (water-born). As a child, the latter was brought up by Nila. But when Jalodbhava grew up, he obtained from Brahma the boon of imperceptible birth. Then, defying Nilas's authority, he began to harass and kill the inhabitants of the surrounding territories of Darvabhisara, Gandhra, Juhundra, Sakas, Khasas, Madras, etc. The helpless Nila approached his father, Kashyap, who was on a pilgrimage of various holy places and then staying at Kankhal, near Haridwar. He persuaded him to visit the holy places in the Madra territory and elsewhere also in this everywhere, he asked his son, "O Nila, tell me as to why this country of the Madras has been deserted" This has always been charming, devoid of the calamity of

famine and full of the wealth of grains". The son replied that Jalodbhava, "that impudent fellow, who obtained boons from Brahma of imperceptible birth, ignores me like anything and I a incapable of keeping him under control due to the boon of the Lord of three worlds. By that villain of evil intellect-eater of human flesh-this whole country of the Madras as well as the neighbouring lands have been depopulated".

Explaining this, Nila requested his father "to check him for the welfare of the world". Consenting to do so, Kashyap came to Satisara, and beseached the help of Brahma, Vishnu and Siva. Followed by Brahma, Siva ad hosts of other gods and goddesses. Visnu proceeded to punish Jalodbhava. But the demon, knowing that he was imperishable in the water, took refuge in the lake. Thereupon, while the numerous gods took up positions on the surrounding mountains, Visnu asked Ananta, "Breaking forth Himalaya today with plough, make soon this lake devoid of water". When this was done, "the water flowed forth hurriedly with force terrifying all the beings with its violent rush and sound and overflowing the tops of the mountains with curved waves like Himalaya touching the sky". Making a desperate bid to save himself, Jalodbhava then created dense darkness all around through magic. But Siva soon dispelled it by holding the sun and the moon in his hands. Finally, Visnu attacked the demon with his discus and removed him from life.

On the land which emerged out of the waters of the Satisara, Brahma, Siva, Visnu, Ananta, Kashyap and the other gods created hermitages for themselves. "So did the Gandharas, the Apsaras, the Yaksas and the mountain kings along with Guhyakas". Later, Visnu also established his own image as well as those of Siva and his female consort; and a large number of sages, Nagas, Gandharvas and others came to see the image of Siva.

Kashyap then prayed to Visnu, "O God, let this country be inhabited by human beings and be holy as well as charming". But the Nagas told Visnu, "We would not live in the company of men". Filled with rage at the objection of the Nagas, Kashyap cursed them", "As you speak audaciously, without paying regard to my words, yon shall have to dwell in the company of the Pisacas". The Pisacas lived "in the centre of the sea of sand" and were "highly terrible". In view of their ferocious character, Nila pleaded with his father to show mercy to the Nagas. Kashyap then moderated his curse to this extent that the Pisacas would stay in the Valley but for six winter months only every year and during the remaining six summer months every year men would live here. But Nila again submitted, "we are ready to live always in the company of men. We would not live with the Pisacas who are cruel and who like cruelty". Visnu then assured the Naga chief that this practice would not last for more than four ages, and that "after that you will live in the company of men only". Visnu further said, "The men will worship the Naga in whose territory they shall dwell, with flowers, incense ointments, eatable offerings, incense of various types and excellent gifts of dramatic performances".

After the four ages had ended, and the men, as usual, had left the Valley for the six winter months, an old Brahman, Candradeva, stayed behind. But he was greatly harassed by the Pisacas. In his difficulty, he approached Nila who was served by the Pisaca chief, Nikumbha. Prasing the Naga chief, the Brahman requested him to free men from the botheration of migration from Kashmir. Nila agreed to oblige provided the men followed his instructions as revealed to him by Kesva. Candradeva then stayed for six months in the palace of Nila and learnt there all the required rites and rituals. With the onset of summer, when the emigrant

population of Kashmir returned, he narrated the whole incident to Virodaya, the chief of men. Thenceforth, men began to live peacefully in the Valley throughout the year.

Legendary though this account is, it contains some historical facts also, and when we sift the one from the other, a fairly accurate history of a very remote past of Kashmir begins to unfold itself. Thus we come to know that a large par of the Valley of Kashmir was originally under water. It is noteworthy that many geologists also are of this opinion. In the words of Frederic Drew, the Geographer of Jammu and Kashmir, "traditions...are valuable.....as showing how in early times some races of mankind had learnt to interpret aright the geological records of the history of their dwelling places",

Next we learn from the Nilamata Purana that the early inhabitants of Kashmir were the tribal Nagas, the worshipers of the Nags or serpants. Most of them lived on the mountains around the Satisara, and practised agriculture as Kalhana's legend of the Naga Susravasa (king Nara's time) indicates. But the recent discoveries laid bare by the archaeologists' spade at Burzahom, about ten miles (16 kms) east of Srinagar, leave us in no doubt that here lived some people before the Nagas also. The excavations have brought to light four cultural periods.

The people of the first period lived in pits which were cut below the ground level into the natural soil. They used hand-made pottery which chiefly consisted of bowls, vases and stem. Bone and stone tools also were used, and these included harpoons for fishing, needles, spear points, arrow heads, dagger,axes, picks, chisels and pounders.

The second period is characterised by structures made of mud or mud bricks as well as timber. The pottery, though still generally handmade, was of superior

quality. Thus a burnished black ware of medium fabric made its appearance during this period. Bone and stone tools also had a better finish. The most distinctive feature of this period, which is not to be found anywhere else in the contemporary India, was the peculiar burials. The dead and their pet animals were placed in oval pits, mostly dug into the house floors or compounds.

While both of these periods belong to the Neolothic Age, the next is associated with the Megalithic Age when the wheel-made pottery and metalic tools began to be used. Stone and rubble structures also were then built.

The fourth and the last period is ascribed to the historical period. Dated a little earlier than the third to fourth century A.D., mud-brick structures, wheel-made red ware and metalic objects predominated during this period.

The earliest date ascribed to Burzahom is 2400 B.C. But the identity of the people of this period is still folded in mist. However, we have already noted that northern India was once inhabited by the Mon-Khmer group of people and the Nagas are believed to have been their descendants. We may therefore, presume that the predessors of the Nagas in Kashmir belonged to the Mon-Khmer group. we have also mentioned some special characteristics of the culture of the latter. It is significant to note that some of these are still peculiar to the people of Kashmir, e.g., cultivation of rice and brinjal, fishing, boating and the use of betal-leaf. By temperament, the Mon-Khmer people were cheerful, sociable, kindly, considerate and happy-go-lucky; and the Kashmiries are not different.

The Nagas, according to the information gleaned from the Nilamata Purana, were followed by the Pisaca people into Kashmir, perhaps from the north-west. Next came a wave of the Aryans from the Panjab side. The

Nagas resented the entry of both the Pisacas and the Aryans into their country and there were frequent bloody clashes between them. Ultimately, however, finding the Aryans not only more powerful but also more amiable, the Nagas came to terms with them and also agreed to recognise a new leader of their tribe, Nile name, in place of the old, at the dictates of the ARyans.

A section of the Nagas, however, refused tc recognise the supremacy of the Aryans and, therefore, continued their opposition to them. In Sangraha, they found an able leader. He fought against the Aryans for about a year, but lost in the end. He felt a minor son named Jalodbhava. Nila took the latter under his protection and showed every kindness to him. But when Jalodbhava grew up, he came to dislike Nila's pro-Aryan policy and rose in revolt against him. Soon his revolt became so formidable that not only many Aryans but Nila also had to flee the country. By this time the Aryans had penetrated into northern India up to the modern Uttar Pradesh, and established powerful settlements there. Nila approached them for help. Consequently, a large Aryan force, led by Kashyap and a number of other chiefs, came to Kashmir. Jalodbhava, who was besieged on all sides, put up a heroic resistance, but was finally defeated and killed.

Finding the country very charming, many Aryan supporters of Nila made up their mind to settle here permanently. But there was not much cultivable land for their subsistence. They perceived that if the water of the Satisara was drained out by cutting the Jehlum defile below the town of Baramulla, a large tract of fertile land would emerge. This marvellous engineering feat was subsequently successfully accomplished. The Aryan chiefs then intended to bring more of their followers from northern India for permanent settlement in the Valley. But the Nagas were opposed to this easure. The

Aryans then warned them of the dangers at the hands of the Pisacas who were numerous and also friends of the late Jalodbhava. Thereupon, the Nāgas withdrew their opposition. but a large majority of the new settlers could not stay here during the winter months owing to severe cold and snow. Hence, they adopted the practice of coming to the Valley at the time of sowing rice, etc. and leaving it after harvesting, spending here in all about six summer months every year.

The temporary emigration of the Aryan settlers to the warmer areas lying on the southern side of the Valley ;went on for some years until they ;got acclimatized and preferred to stay here permanently. With the passage of time; the relations also not only ;between them and the Nagas but also between both of them and the Pisacas became perfectly cordial and harmonious, and all of them began to lead a peaceful life.

Here we might also venture to determine the time of Aryan penertration into Kashmir and the desiccation of the Satisara Lake by them. We know that while some of them had come sometime before Nila had become the chief of the Nagas, a large number of them came during and shortly after his struggle for power with Jalodbhava. As not much time elapsed between these two waves of the Aryan immigration to Kashmir, for our purpose we might reckon them to have taken place at the same time. The drainage operations also were carried out by them almost simultaneously.

Now, the Aryans could not have made passage for the lake waters by cutting the Jehlum defile below baramulla without the use of some kind of iron machinery or tools which the Nilamata Purana describes as a "plough". And, according to the scholars of Indian history, the Aryans started smelting and manufacturing iron objects in India first in the Gandhara region from

about 1000 B.C. in the modern Uttar pradesh region, as Nilamata Purana indicates, this event occurred around 800 B.C. To be on the safer side, however, we might say that the Aryans penetration into Kashmir as well as the emergence of a large part of the Valley from under water as a result of the desiccation of the lake took place sometime between 1000 and 800 B.C. obviously, this conclusion would not hold good if the origin of the Valley is attributed to some such violent geological upheaval as earthquakes about which there is no information.

We might raise yet another question here. The scholars put the date of end of the Indus Valley Civilization at about 1500 B.C. But by no means this conclusion is final. Nor is there as yet a definite answer to the questions how or why it came to an end. On the face of it there appears no reason to link the destruction of Harappa and Mohanjodaro with the unprecedented floods that the desiccation of the Satisara Lake would have caused in the Jehlum. Still, we suggest the scholars working on the subject to examine it from this angle.

First Gonanda Dynasty

The Nagas were, as already mentioned, a tribal people. Their tribal organisation continued to dominate the political scene in Kashmir for some time even after the coming of the Aryans. This is evident from Visnu's assurance to Nila that " the men will worship the Naga in whose territory they shall dwell." Gradually, however, the Aryan political institutions began to take roots in their newly adopted homeland, and monarchy also was established here. But we know not exactly when and how this happened. both of our extant sources on the early history of Kashmir, the Nilamata Purana and Kalhana's Rajatarangini provides us with no clue in this respect.

The first king who is mentioned in Kalhana's chronicle by name is Gonanda. He is said to have ascended the throne when 653 years of Kali period had passed away. Traditionally, the coronation of Yudhishtra, the Pandava ruler of the Mahabharta times, also took place at this point of time. India was then divided into a number of small principalities any those of Kasi, Kosala, Magadha, Malhura, Pragjyotisha (Assam), Kambojas, Sakas, Madras, Kaikeyas and Avanti were prominent in northern India.

Gonanda is said to have been a relative of Jarasanda, the king of Magadha and father-in-law of Krishna. Our chronicler says that Goanada, " with large forces", fought and died in a war for Jarasanda against Krishna at Mathura.

Gonanda's son, Damodra, then occupied the throne of Kashmir. He set his heart upon avenging his father's death, but suffered the same fate at the hands of Krishna in the neighbouring territory of Gandhara. Both of them had gone there to participate in a Svayamvara or a contest for marriage, and Damodra is said to have marched at the head of this "expedition obscuring the sky with the dust that the horses of his army raised."

Thereafter, Krishna got Damodra's pregnant widow, Yasovati, installed on the throne by the Brahmans. But later, when she gave birth to a son, he was crowned as Gonanda II.

About this time broke out the Mahabharta War. As the king of Kashmir was still and infant, his help is said to have been sought neither by the Kauravas nor the Pandavas. Whether it was actually owing to this or some other reason, we know it for definite that Kashmir did not take part in the war and was thus saved of its disastrous consequences.

But the scholars doubt the very authenticity of the above account of Gonanda and his descendants. In it they see a deliberate attempt "to connect special Kashmirian legends with those of India proper, and especially with the Mahabharta".

Mauryan Rule

After Gonanda II, thirty five kings are said to have succeeded him, but, says Kalhana, they "have been immersed in the ocean of oblivion, their the Pandavas or the ancestors of Maharaja Gulab Singh, the founder of modern State of Jammu and Kashmir. But they are not convincing.

Kalhana mentions the names of eight more kings before talking of Asoka; and they include Lava, Kusha and Janaka. It is not improbable that Kashmir came under the sway of the Achaemenians of Persia for some time during this period. The students of Indian history know it well that Cyrus., the founder of the Persian empire, was able to extend his conquests right up to the Hindukush, and Gandhara formed a part of his empire. later, in 516 B.C. Darius annexed a part of the Panjab also to the Persian empire. It is, however, difficult to say for how long the Persian rule lasted over these parts of India. But it is very probable that by the time of Alexander's invasion in 326 B.C., their hold had become much effete.

Alexander indirectly helped the growth of Indian unity and the extension of the Mauryan Empire by weakening the petty states in the north-west of India. Asoka must have, therefore, conquered Kashmir also.

According to our chronicler, Asoka's reign in Kashmir was marked by great building activity and spread of Budhism. The emperor set up here Viharas and Stupas at Vitastatra and Suskaletra, repaired on old

Siva temple of Vijayesvara, and built two new temples called Asolervara. He also founded a town, Srinagar, three miles above the modern city of Srinagar. it is now occupied by a small village called Pandrethan, derived from ancient appellation Puranadhishthana which literally means "the old capital".

Wiih the death of Asoka began the downfall of the Mauryan Dynasty, and .Kashmir again became independent, it is said under his alleged son, Jalauka, According to Kalhana, the latter was a great warrior who freed the country of the Mlecchas and made extensive conquests, including that of Kanyakubja. Credit is also given to him for having reformed the system of administration in Kashmir. Whereas formerly there were only seven heads of departmetns, viz, the judge, the revenue supoerintentdent, the treasurer, the commander ofthe army, the envoy, the Purohita and the astrologer, he increased their number to eighteen. He is also said to have brought from kananj "people of all four castes in his own land and brought from kanaj "people of all four castes in his own land and righteous men acquainted with legal procedure".

It is significant to note here that after Asoka's death, Budhism in India had begun to decline and under Sungas and Kanvas Hinduism with its ceremomious rituals of sacrifices, was restored. No wonder, Kashmir also was affected by this change, and Jalauka's call to "people of all four castes", particularly to those who were wel-versed in legal procedure, i.e. the Brahmans, is indicative of that. But the form of Hindusiam which flourished in Kashmir under him was the odl one, i.e. Saivism. He himself built two Siva temples of Jyestharudra and Butesa at Sringari and Nandikshetra respectively. earlier he had destroyed some Viharas. But towards the close of his reign, when he seems to have

adopted a conciliatory attitude towards Budhism, one was estbalished by him.

Kushan Occupation

Jalauka was succeeded by Damodra II. The latter built a town on the Damodra-Suda (modern Damodar Udar), round an arid alluvial plateau to the south of Srinagar. He also wished to arrange for its irrigation through a canal which, however, could not be constructed owing to the opposition of some Brahmans.

After he passed away, Kashmir is said to have come under the Kushan occupation. The north-west India was, no doubt, subjected to several foreign invasions following the fall of the Mauryan Empire, and Kashmir could not possibly keep herself immune from these convulsions.

There is a suggestion that, for a brief period, a part of it came even under the Indo-Greeks and the Sakas. Manender, also called Milinda, had definitiely incorporated into his kingdom Gandhara and some parts of the Panjab, and made Sialkot as his capital.

The Sakas, who followed the Greeks, controlled a much larger part of north-west India, including Gandhara, the Swat Valley and possibly a part of Kashmir.

The Sakas were overthrown in India by the Kushans in the beginning of the first century A.D. Under the latter, small and fragmented states were once again united. Their empire included not only the regions of northern and north-western India but also of Central Asia and Afghanistan.

According to Kalhana, among the Kushan rulers whose sway extended to Kashmir included Huska, Juska and Kaniska. each one of them founded here a town after his name, and these were called Huskapura (Uskur),

Juskapura (Zukur) and Kanishkapura (Kanispur) respectively. Kanishka is identified with the well-known Kushan ruler of India of the same name. According to a Budhist tradition, he convened the fourth Budhist Council at a place called Kundalvana in Kashmir, although some scholars opene that it was held at Jullundur in the Panjab.

Local Rulers

A sseries of local rulers are said to have succeeded the Kushanas. The first of them was Abhimanyu. Patanjali's Mahabhasya was brought to Kashmir in his time. Budhism also rose to prominence during his regin. It seems the Nagar wwere offended at this development and came in conflict, perhaps bloody, with the Budhists who suffered greatly, consequently.

Abhimanyu's successor, Gonanda III, also kept the drive onagainst the Budhists, and further promoted the cause of Saivism, the traditional religion of the people of Kashmir. He was successively followed by Vibhisana I, Indrajit, Ravana and Vibhisana II, the names which remind us of the demon warriors of the Ramayana.

Vibhisana II was succeeded by his son, Nara or Kimnara. The latter seems to have been a great enemy of the Budhists. They are said to have incurred his wrath when one of them seduced his wife through magic. Thereupojn, he "burned thousands of Viharas, and granted the villages which had belonged to them, to Brahmans'. He also built a town after his name, which was, however, destroyed by a heavy rain which was brought about, it is said, by the Nagas. According to Kalhana, the Nagas were incensed at the king's evil intentions towards a married Naga woman.

It may be noted here that after the downfall of the Kushan Empire and before the rise of the Guptas, in the

beginning of the fourth century A.D., there followed a long period of political framentation in northern India. During this period, two powers, the Nagas and the Vakatakas rose to prominence. Nava Naga and Virasens Naga, the two Naga princes, succeeded in sweeping away the Kushana's above references to the Nagas show that in Kashmir also, at this time, they became active and created much turmoil, if not made a bid to recapture power.

Mihirakula and his successors

The next important ruler of Kashmir mentioned in the rajatarangini is Mhirakula. He is undoubtedly the cruel and ruthless Huna warrior of the same name who ruled over a large part of northern India after the collapase of the Gupta Empire. When, in about 533 A.D., he suffered defeat at the hands of a cofederacy of some Indian chiefs, he sought safety in Kashmir. Here, he soon seized the throne by treachery. It is said that once, while returning from a conquering expedition, one of his elephants fell down a predipitous narrow passage on the Pir Panjal Pass. So much was he thrilled by the cries of agony of the falling animal that he is said to have caused the destruction of a hundred more ina similar manner. The place of this incident is still known as Hastivanj. It may be mentioned here that Bernier, the French travellor, also records the falling of an elephant of Aurangzeb while ascending the Pir Panjal.

Mihirakula is further aid to have built a shrine of Siva at Srinagar, founded a town after his name, and partonised the Brahmans. A number of the Brahmans belonging to the Gandhara region were invited to settle down in Kashmir, and received land grants from him.

The names of the immediate successors of Mihirakula suggest that the huns continued to rule over Kashmir for some more time. After Baka and Ksitinanda,

Vasunanda was thus the third in line. He is said to have composed a treatise on erotics. Nara II and Aksha followed him. Aksha founded the town of Akshvala, the well-known modern tourist resort of Achbabal.

Gopaladitya was the next king. He is credited to have established many religious foundations, including the shrine of Jyesthesvara on the Gopa hill which is identified with that of Shankarachaya in Srinagar. The name of the hill still survives in the village of Gopkar at its foot. The king also banned the killing of animals, except for sccrificial purposes.

Narindraditya was the second successor of Gopaladitya, the first being Gokarna. Also called Khingila, he asumed the title of Deva Sahi Khingila. He was followed by Yudhisthira, better known as Blind Yudhistthira. An oppressive ruler, the latter was forced to flee the country by his ministers and subjects.

From Pratapaditya to Samdhimati

The vacant throne is then said to have been offered to a relative of king Vikramaditya of India, who assumed the title of Pratapaditya.

Probabaly he was an invader and wrested the kingdom of Kashmir from Yudishthira with the help of the latter's disaffected subjects. The identity of Vikramaditya also is yet to be estbalished. Though an outsider, Pratapaditya "cherished the land as if it had belonged to his forefathers".

Jalaukas was the next and Tunjiona the third and last king of this dynasty. The great poet Chandaka flourished in Tunjina's time. But the latter's reign was marred by a severe famine caused by an untimely snowfall in September. The king provided free food to the needy, but soon his resources were exhausted. His saintly wife then prayer to god to protect the famine-

stricken people. Her prayers were granted and, it is said, there fell daily on each house numberless dead pigeons to be used as food. After the death of her husabnd, she committed Sati.

Tunjina left no son, and another unknown family then occupied the throne. Vijaya, the first king of this line, built the shrine of Vijayesvara. He was followed by his son, Jayendra, and the latter by his minister, Samdhimati, under the title of Aruyaraja. Kalhana says that before his accession, Samdhimati was cruely done to death by king Jayendra but alter he was restored to life by the magic of Witches. Being a great devotee of Siva, Saivism gained considerable ground under his patronage. Ultimately, Samdhimati voluntarily abdicated and ended his days as a recluse.

Second Gonanda Dynasty

The throne of Kashmir next passed on to Meghavahana. Son of Gopaditya, a great-granddon of Yudhist\hthira, living in exile at Gandhara, he returned to his country on the invitation of the exking's ministers. He is perhaps the first king of Kashmir who put a ban on the slaughter of animals even for sacrificial purposes, and gave financial assistance to the butchers for earning "sinless livelihood". Kalhana narrates some stories which indicate pressure on the king for the reversal of this measures, but he stood his ground.

He also founded a village and some religious establishments. Many Viharas were built by his wives too. Amritaprbha, one of them erected a monastery, called Amritabhavan, for the residence of outside Bhikshus or the Budhist monks. Her father's teacher, who belonged to Leh (Ladakh) and was designated as Stonpa, also established the Stupa of Lostunpa. Kalhana further says that with a view to imposing prohibiton against the killing of living beings, Meghavahana undertook

expeditions against some countries, including Ceylon. This account is, however, unbelievable, first, because of the reference to far off Ceylon, and secondly, because a man who banned the violence on animals even for sacrifical purposes cannot be expected to have used violent means for the spread of the message of non-violence.

The next king, Sresthasena, was also known by the names of Pravarasena and Tunjana II. He erected many sacred buildings at Purandisthana, a city originally founde by Asoka. When he passed into silence, his elder son, Hiranya, occupied the throne, while the younger one, Toramana, became the heir-apparent. But Toramana gave offence to his brother by coining money in his own name and, therefore, landed himself in prison. Frightended, his wife fled and took refuge in a potter's house. There she gave birth to a son who, after his grandfather, was also named Pravarasena.

Sometime later, Toramana died. Hiranya also was removed from life soon after, without leaving any heir. On the request of the people of Kashmir, an unidentified king Vikramaditya Harsa of Ujjain is said to have then filled up the vacant throne by a Brahman poet named Matrigupta. Identified by some scholars with the well-known Sanskrit poet and dramatist, Kalidasa, the new king was highly pious and liberal-minded. He prohibited theslaughter of animals, which seems to have revived sometimes after Meghavahana. He also built the shrine of Visnu Matriguptasvamin, and patronised Bhartrimentha, also called Mentha, the author of Hayagrivavdha. But when Vikramaditya of Ujjain died, Matrigupta turned a recluse. Seating Pravarararasena II on the throne, whom divine ordinance had called back to Kashmir, he himself left for Varanasi.

It Kalhana's above account of Matrigupta rests on

historical facts, it might be concluded, first, that about the middle of the sixth century A.D. Kashmir had been subject to a ruler who acknowledged the soveringnty of Vikramaditya of Ujjain; and, secondly, that Pravarasena II freed it from the foreign domination, most probably through an invasion.

Pravarasena II is said to have made vast conquestes, including that of Saurashtra. Seven times he defeated a king called Mummuni. His help was sought even by the son and successor of Vikramaditya of Ujjain. The latter, named Pratapaditya, was ousted by his enemies. But the ruler of Kashmir went to his rescue and, after the restoration of his ally, is said to have brought back the throne of his ancestors, which had been earlier taken away to Ujjain. He added yet another feather in his cap by founding the city of Pravarapura on the site of modern Srinagar. When Hieun Tsang visisted Kashmir, in 631 A.D., he found it in existence.

After Pravarasena II sat Yudhishthira Ii on the throne. He was followed by Lakhana Narendraditya. The altter established a department for keeping records. It is said that he maintained

India is one of those countries in the world which became a centre of man's civilization in the most ancient times. Archaeological discoveries in many of its parts show the widespread existence of the Palaeolithic and Neolithic men who fashioned rough tools of stone similar to those found in the other area of globe. But unlike some of those areas of the world where the New stone Age is believed to have begun around 7,000 B.C. in India the Neolithic settlements are not older than 6,000 B.C.

It is also cannot be said with certainty whether the people who inhabited India in the beginning belonged to the country itself or came from outside. The debate is still going on. The consensus of opinion at present is,

however, that they belonged to the equatorial of Negroid race. Coming from Africa by way of Arabia and the coast-lands of Persia, they spread over the western, southern and north eastern parts of India. A group of them went even to the Andaman Islands. Today, they are virtually extinct. Being probably food gathers, they do not appear to have contributed anything of importance to the Indian civilization.

The Negroids were followed by the Proto-Austroloids, Called the Nishadas in the ancient Indian literature, the latter are regarded as a very old off-shoot of the Mediterranean race from Palestine. A branch of them passed on to Australia and Tasmania. Even today their descendants are found among the lower classes all over India.

The next to appear on the scene were the Mongoloids from their homes in north-western China and Mongolia. They spoke the non-Dravidian languages known at Mon-Khmer languages belonging to the Tibeto-Chinese and the Siemese-Chinese family. Along with the Proto-Austroloids, they are believed to have contributed a lot to the Indian culture. Use of pottery, bow and arrow, and hoe is attributed to them. Some fruits and vegetables like banana, brinjal, coconut, betel, pumpkin, besides cotton and rice, are presumed to have been cultivated by the Austric people. They also seem to have known the domestic fowl, the peacock, the elephant and the horse or pony. The use of turmeric and vermillion in religious ceremonies, milk and tea as drinks, some food taboos and magical beliefs are their other contributions.

Later, a wave of Dravidian people, also from the eastern Mediterranean, swept across India. Some scholars believe that they were the creators of the well-known Indus Valley Civilization. Their influence is quite strong even in contemporary India and they inhabit practically

the whole of its southern part. They brought with them the cult of Siva and the institution of Yoga. They knew the use of canoes, boats and ships, and gave the world the earliest municipal planning. All the necessary arts of life, including agriculture, spinning and weaving, and dying were practised by them. Puja, or the offering of flowers, leaves, fruits and water to a god, is their gift. Certain usages regarding the prohibited degrees in marriage and the practice of disposal of the dead by cremation also owe their origin to them.

The Dravidians could not stand, at least in northern India, before the Aryans who came next and were better organised. The latter possessed horse and the best variety of wheat. The use of milk on a large scale, alcoholic drink, dancing, chariot racing and tailored garments were the other important features of their culture. But their chief gift is the Sanskrit language. They worshipped various powers of nature conceived of as forces with certain human qualities. Their ritual was that of the offering or libation put into the sacrificial fire. This and other rituals were performed by a priestly class, the Brahmans. Besides the Brahmans, there were three other classes into which their society was divided, viz., the Kshatriyas (the rulers and warriors), the Vaishas (the businessmen) and the Shudras (the serfs).

The entry of the Aryans into India is variously dated from 5000 B.C. to 1500 B.C. The route taken by them and the part of India first occupied by them also are still moot points. In any case, there is no evidence to suggest that they first settled in Kashmir or even passed through it. On the contrary, if a mythological tradition is to be believed, the Aryans penetrated Kashmir through the Punjab which they had occupied much earlier. This tradition, contained in the Nilamata Purana, throws further light on how the Valley of Kashmir was formed, who were its early inhabitants, and how they reacted to

the Aryan penetration into their land. We would, therefore, do well to take note of it here in some detail.

The *Nilmata Purana* says the Valley of Kashmir, called Satidesa, was originally a lake known as Satisara, i.e., the lake of Sati, named after Parvati, the divine consort of Lord Siva. In this area lived Kadru and Vinata, two wives of Kashyap, son of Marichi and grandson of Brahma. While Kadru had Nagas, the serpants, as her sons, Vinata's sons were the birds Garuda and Aruna. The green-eyed monster in them did not allow the serpants and the birds live peacefully. In their struggle against each other, Garuda approached Indra, "obtained the boon of eating the Nagas", and threatened their very existence. In sore straits, Vasuki, the chief of the Nagas, appealed for help to Visnu. The god told him that he "along with the pious Nagas may dwell in the country of Sati, in the sky like lake of holy water. The enemy of the serpants shall not kill those serpants who will make their abode in that lake. O Lord of the Nagas, my mount-the enemy of the Nagas-shall not kill him who, with his abode in the country of Sati, dwells unthreatened from all sides. O highly fortunate one, coronate Nila in the kingdom of those highly strong Nagas who shall dwell in the country of Sati". Vasuki acted accordingly and with that ended the enmity between the two sides.

The legend goes on to say that after some time Indra, along with his consort, came to Satisara on a pleasure trip. A Daitya chief, named Sangraha, another descendant of Kashyap, then cast his convetous eyes on Indra's wife and wished to carry her away. This led to a clash between Sangraha ad Indra, which lasted for about a year. Ultimately, the former was defeated and killed.

From Sangraha was born a son, Jalodbhava (water-born). As a child, the latter was brought up by Nila. But when Jalodbhava grew up, he obtained from Brahma the

boon or imperceptible birth. Then, defying Nilas's authority, he began to harass and kill the inhabitants of the surrounding territories of Darvabhisara, Gandhra, Juhundra, Sakas, Khasas, Madras, etc. The helpless Nila approached his father, Kashyap, who was on a pilgrimage of various holy places and then staying at Kankhal, near Haridwar. He persuaded him to visit the holy places in the Madra territory and elsewhere also in this region. But on reaching here when Kashyap saw destruction everywhere, he asked his son, "O Nila, been deserted? This has always been charming, devoid of the calamity of famine and full of the wealth of grains". The son replied that Jalodbhava, "that impudent fellow, who obtained boons from Brahma of imperceptible birth, ignores me like anything and I am incapable of keeping him under control due to the boon of the Lord of three worlds. By that villain of evil intellect-eater of human flesh-this whole country of the Madras as well a the neighbouring lands have been depopulated".

Explaining this, Nila requested his father "to check him for the welfare of the world". Consenting to do so, Kashyap came to Satisara, and beseached the help of Brahma, Vishnu and Siva. Followed by Brahma, Siva and hosts of other gods and goddesses, Visnu proceeded to punish Jalodbhava. But the demon, knowing that he was imperishable in the water, took refuge in the lake. Thereupon, while the numerous gods took up positions on the surrounding mountains, Visnu asked Ananta, "Breaking forth Himalaya today with plough, make soon this lake devoid of water". When this was done, "the water flowed forth hurriedly with force terrifying all the beings with its violent rush and sound and over-flowing the tops of the mountains with curved waves like Himalaya touching the sky". Making a desperate bid to save himself, Jalodbhava then created dense darkness all around through magic. But Siva soon dispelled it by

holding the sun and the moon in his hands. Finally, visnu attacked the demon with his discus and removed him from life.

On the land which emerged out of the waters of the satisara, Brahma, Siva, Visnu, Ananta, Kashyap and the other gods created hermitages for themselves. "SO did the Gandharas, the Apsaras, the Yaksas and the mountain kings along with Guhyakas". Later, Visnu also established his own image as well as those of Siva and his female consort; and a large number of sages, Nagas, Gandharvas and other came to see the image of Siva. Kashyap then prayed to Visnu, "O God, let this country be inhabited by human beings and be holy as well as charming". But the Nagas told Visnu, "we would not live in the company of men". Filled with rage at the objection of the Nagas, Kashyap cursed them", "As you speak audaciously, without paying regard to my words, you shall have to dwell in the company of the Pisacas". The Pisacas lived" in the centre of the sea of sand" and were "highly terrible". In view of their ferocious character, Nila pleaded with his father to show mercy to the Nagas. Kashyap then moderated his curse to this extent that the Pisacas would stay in the Vally but for six winter months only every year and during the remaining six summer months very year men would live here. But Nila again submitted, "we are ready to live always in the company of men. We would not live with the Pisacas who are cruel and who like cruelty". Visnu then assured the Naga chief that this practice would not last for more than four ages, and that "after that you will live in the company of men only". Visnu further said, "The men will worship the Naga in whose territory they shall dwell, with flowers, incense ointments, eatable offerings, incense of various types and excellent gifts of dramatic performances".

After the four ages had ended, and the men, as usual had left the Valley for the six winter months, an old Brahman, Candradeva, stayed behind. But he was greatly harassed by the Pisacas. In his difficulty, he approached Nila who was served by the Pisaca, chief, Nikumbha. Praising the Naga chief, the Brahman requested him to free men from the botheration of migration from Kashmir. Nila agreed to oblige provided the men followed his instructions as revealed to him by Kesva. Candradeva then stayed for six months in the palace of Nila and learnt there all the required rites and rituals. With the onset of summer, when the emigrant population of Kashmir returned, he narrated the whole incident to Virodaya, the chief of men. Thenceforth, men began to live peacefully in the Valley throughout the year.

Legendary though this account is, it contains some historical facts also, and when we sift the one from the other, a fairly accurate history of a very remote post of Kashmir begins to unfold itself. Thus we come to know that a large part of the Valley of Kashmir was originally under water. It is noteworthy that many geologists also are of this opinion. In the words of Frederic Drew, the Geographer of Jammu and Kashmir, "traditions...are valuable, as showing how in early times some races of mankind had learnt to interpret aright the geological records of the history of their dwelling places".

Next we learn from the Nilamata Purana that the early inhabitants of Kashmir were the tribal Nagas, the worshippers of the Nags or serpants. Most of them lived on the mountains around the Satisara, and practised agriculture as Kalhana's legend of the Naga Susravasa (king Nara's time) indicates. But the recent discoveries laid bare by the archaeologists' spade at Burzahom, about ten miles (16 kms) east of Srinagar, leave us in no doubt

that here lived some people before the Nagas also. The excavations have brought to light four cultural periods.

The people of the first period lived in pits which were cut below the ground level into the natural soil. They used hand-made pottery which chiefly consisted of bowls, vases and stem. Bone and stone tools also were used, and these included harpoons for fishing, needles, spear points, arrow heads, daggers, axes, picks, chisels and pounders.

The second period is characterised by structures made of mud or mud bricks as well as timber. The pottery, though still generally hand-made, was of superior quality. Thus a burnished black ware of medium fabric made its appearance during this period. Bone and stone tools also had a better finish. The most distinctive feature of this period, which is not to be found anywhere else in the contemporary India, was the peculiar burials. The dead and their pet animals were placed in oval pits, mostly dug into the house floors or compounds.

While both of these periods belong to the Neolithic Age, the next is associated with the Megalithic Age when the wheel-made pottery and metalic tools began to be used. Stone and rubble structures also were then built. The fourth and the last period is ascribed to the historical period. Dated a little earlier than the third to fourth century A.D., mud-brick structures, wheel-made red ware and metalic objects predominated during this period. The earliest date ascribed to Burzahom is 2400 B.C. But the identity of the people of this period is still folded in mist. However, we have already noted that northern India was once inhabited by the Mon-Khmer group of people and the Nagas are believed to have been their descendants. We may, therefore, presume that the predecessors of the Nagas in Kashmir belonged to the Mon-Khmer group. We have also mentioned some special characteristics of

the culture of the latter. It is significant to note that some of these are still peculiar to the people of Kashmir, e.g., cultivation of rice and brinjal, fishing, boating and the use of betal-leaf. By temperament, are MonKhmer people were cheerful, sociable, kindly, considerate and happy-go lucky; and the Kashmiries are not different.

The Nagas, according to the information gleaned from the Nilamata Purana, were followed by the Pisaca people into Kashmir, perhaps from the north-west. Next came a wave of the Aryans from the Punjab side. The Nagas resented the entry of both the Pisacas and the Aryans into their country, and there were frequent bloody clashes between them. Ultimately, however, finding the Aryans not only more powerful but also more agreed to recognise a new leader of their tribe, Nile by name, in place of the old, at the dictates of the Aryans.

A section of the Nagas, however, refused to recognise the supremacy of the Aryans and, therefore, continued their opposition to them. In Sangraha, they found an able leader. He fought against the Aryans for about a year, but lost in the end. He left a minor son named Jalodbhava. Nila took the latter under his protection and showed every kindness to him. But when Jalodbhava grew up, he came to dislike Nila's pro-Aryan policy and roe in revolt against him. Soon his revolt became so formidable that not only many Aryans but Nila also had to flee the country. But this time the Aryans had penetrated into northern India up to the modern Uttar Pradesh, and established powerful settlements there. Nila approached them for help. Consequently, a large Aryan force, led by Kashyap and a number of other chiefs, came to Kashmir. Jalodbhava, who was besieged on all sides, put up a heroic resistance, but was finally defeated and killed.

Finding the country very charming, many Aryan

supporters of Nila made up their mind to settle here permanently. But there was not much cultivable land for their subsistence. They perceived that if the water of the Satisara was drained out by cutting the Jhelum defile below the town of Baramulla, a large tract of fertile land would emerge. This marvellous engineering feat was subsequently successfully accomplished. The Aryan chiefs then intended to bring more of their followers from northern India for permanent settlement in the Valley. But the Nagas were opposed to this measure. The Aryans then warned them of the dangers at the hands of the Pisacas who were numerous and also friends of the late Jalodbhava. Thereupon, the Nagas withdrew their opposition. But a large majority of the new settlers could not stay here during the winter months owing to severe cold and snow. Hence, they adopted the practice of coming to the Valley at the time of sowing rice, etc. and leaving it after harvesting, spending here in all about six summer months every years.

The temporary emigration of the Aryan settlers to the warmer areas lying on the southern side of the Valley went on for some years until they got acclimatized and preferred to stay here permanently. With the passage of time, the relations also not only between them and the Nagas but also between both of them ad the Pisaca became perfectly cordial and harmonious, and all of them began to led a peaceful life. Here we might also venture to determine the time of Aryan penetration into Kashmir and the desiccation of the Satisara Lake by them.

2

History and Politics

Thirty years ago, Dorothy Woodman, a confirmed friend of India, concluded her excellent work *Himalayan Frontiers* with these words: "India today seems to be the victim of three traumas: Kashmir, the Aksai Chin, and poverty. To try to resolve the first two by vast military expenditure can only divert her funds and energies from the struggle against poverty. India cannot afford to play Russia's war game with China, nor her own war game with Pakistan. China, whatever the ruling power, will continue to make the same demands that Peking is making today, since her national interests must remain the same and the geographical background is permanent. She, too, cannot risk two enemies on her frontier nor a series of Vietnams round her periphery. India is, in fact, faced with the alternatives of the Himalayas as one vast radar screen or the initiation of an active foreign policy to reopen talks with Pakistan and China. To settle for the present stalemate is to condone a militarily active frontier across Asia."

On each front, Kashmir and the border with China, the dispute is no nearer a solution than it then was. On neither has India once taken a diplomatic initiative which had a realistic prospect of success. It has consistently refused to reckon with interests other than its own. The style of diplomacy remains the same the grand stand, the superior moralising, the disingenuous legalism and assertions on the pacts which none outside the shores of India accepts.

India is ever willing to *talk;* it is never willing to *negotiate.* Bar brief interludes, no government has felt itself strong enough to negotiate a settlement. That entails concessions and compromise and these would earn unpopularity. Unless the Opposition parties cooperate in the endeavour, as the Conservatives did with~ the Labour Government in order to settle the Irish question, no settlement is politically possible no matter how favourable it be to the national interest.

Time there was when India refused to acknowledge the very existence of a border "dispute" with China. In the last forty years of the fifty-year-old Kashmir dispute, India has adopted the same stand. But the dispute refuses to vanish for three reasons. One is the alienation of the people of the State, specifically of the Valley. The second is Pakistan's continuous, persistent agitation to secure recognition of its locus *standi* in the dispute and a solution that reckons with it. Lastly, as these two factors persist, the world outside refuses to accept India's claim that Kashmir is a purely internal affair and a closed chapter.

Elsewhere, territorial disputes are recognised as such and resolved over a period of time, Trieste, South Tyrol and Saar, for instance. Uniquely, Indian officials and establishment columnists pretend that the "dispute" is but a symptom of a wider malaise, namely, the malevolence of the adversary a bigoted Pakistan and, for long, a Maoist China.

For a change, one might ask whether there is not something in India's outlook which accounts, at least in part, for the imbroglios in which it has tended to find itself. May not the Kashmir dispute be a 11 symptom" of our Big-Neighbour policy over the years? The origin of this dispute lies in the events at the time of Partition. Its complexities are imbedded in the memories of that tragic

phase. Discussing the problem with a wide range of persons recently, the writer heard one viewpoint, articulated by one of India's most cerebral diplomats still in service, that the Kashmir question of today stands by itself divorced from the past. He was only partly right in that the solutions one can realistically consider now are basically different from those discussed until, say, 1965. Kashmir's secession from the Indian ,Union must be ruled out.

But he was altogether wrong in implying the irrelevance of the past. It was, however, left to the ablest head of one of India's services in recent years to reach the, heart of the matter. *Pakistan, he said, is a country with a grievance.* It is another matter that it bears no little responsibility for its own predicament. Its intellectuals, bar exceptions, are as chauvinistic as India's. Dissent in Pakistan enjoys far less freedom, though.

However, there can be little progress towards a solution to the Kashmir question unless the reality of an aggrieved Pakistan and India's share of responsibility for its grievances are accepted. It is woefully apparent by now that there can be no stability in South Asia unless the Kashmir dispute is resolved. Since the roots of those grievances fie in 1947, any work of scholarship, no matter how tendentious its conclusions, is welcome.

Alastair Lamb is both scholarly and tendentious. His latest work (*Incomplete Partition: The Genesis of the Kashmir Dispute 1947-1948*, Roxford Books, Hertingfordbury, Hertfordshire, U.K.) reflects that. It is an extended version of an earlier book, *Birth of a Tragedy: Kashmir 1947* (vide the writer's review, "Lessons from history", and a review of his major work, *Kashmir: A Disputed Legacy 1846-1990, in Frontline,* March 27, 1992). It draws liberally on the records in the British Library but without citing the references except once. The Government of India

adamantly refuses to open its archival records pertaining to those years. Students of India's foreign affairs are constrained to fall back on foreign sources. They owe a lot to Salim Al-Din Qureshi, head of the Modern South Asian Languages Section in charge of the former India Office Records, who retired recently.

In the present work, as before, Alastair Lamb flogs his hobby horse that the Maharaja of Kashmir signed the Instrument of Accession *after* Indian troops landed in Srinagar on October 27, 1947, and not on October 26. On the facts he is right. But, as was pointed out earlier (in 1995), it does not affect the legality of the accession one bit.

The present work contains one of the fullest accounts of the war in Kashmir (1947-48) based on sources from both sides. No less convincing is he in proving to the hilt that Cyril Radcliffe *did alter his boundary Awardon Punjab at Viceroy Lord Mountbatten's instance.* This was clearly suggested by one of the foremost scholars on Partition, Prof. R.J. Moore, in his book *Making the New Commonwealth* (1987). On February 24,1992, *The Daily Telegraph* published disclosures by a man of high integrity, C.H. Beaumont, ICS, private secretary to Radcliffe, that at a lunch on August 12, 1947, from which he was excluded, unprecedentedly and on false pretexts, Radcliffe was persuaded by Mountbatten to allot Ferozepur and Zira subdistricts to India by altering his draft Award which had given them to Pakistan. On the previous evening, V.P. Menon had asked to see Radcliffe but Beaumont rebuffed him. "Mountbatten interfered and Radcliffe allowed himself to be overborne. Grave discredit to both." No sooner was this published than all hell broke loose. Professor Tapan Raychaudhuri's comment from Oxford was typical: "Just one person talking doesn't change anything."

Lamb quotes from the archives Radcliffe's explicit admission to Arthur Henderson, Under-Secretary of State at the India Office, in August or September 1947 that "he showed the first draft of the proposed Award to the authorities in Delhi, and that on further consideration he made the Award in terms which departed from the first draft."

Like all others, Lamb ignores a 20-year-old record of unimpeachable authority by one whose exertions led to the alteration, the memoirs of Dr. Kanwar Sain, *Reminiscences of an Engineer* (Young Asia Publications, New Delhi; 1978). Its Chapter II is entitled "Mountbatten Alters Punjab Boundary at Eleventh Hour". The author, who came to win international repute, was then in the service of Bikaner. He reproduces texts of memoranda submitted to the Radcliffe Commission. It was learnt by a source in the evening of August 8, 1947 that Ferozepur, Zira and Fazilka were to be awarded to Pakistan. This spelt the transfer of the Ferozepur Headworks and the head reach of the Gang Canal also to Pakistan. The information reached Sain on August 10. He alerted the Diwan, K.M. Panikkar, and the Maharaja. The full text of the ruler's protest to Mountbatten is set out. It was handed over to him on August 11 with the threat that if the Award was not altered, the ruler "in the interest of his subjects, would have no option left but to opt for Pakistan." That evening it was announced that publication of the Award would be delayed. The next day came the now famous lunch.

In the latest book Lamb convincingly demonstrates that no judge could possibly have awarded Gurdaspur tehsil to Pakistan and demolishes the myths fostered by Pakistan. He also suggests that the alteration in respect of Ferozepur was not wrong on the merits but criticises Mountbatten for meddling with the Award. A whole file

was created in 1948 to cover up Mountbatten's impropriety.

It now rests in the British Library. But his exoneration now, for the first time, of Radcliffe testifies to his ignorance of the proprieties of the matter. "The barrister's first duty is to his client," the British Government "which had retained him and in whose best interests, as he saw it, he acted." That Government and the rulers of India and Pakistan had appointed him, and he had undertaken to discharge a *judicial* function. Radcliffe deceived one of the parties which was privy to the appointment, Pakistan.

The record with regard to the tampering of the draft Award in favour of India is incontestable. *What would have been India's reaction it is had been the victim of such deceit by an arbitrator acting.* If through a supposedly impartial Viceroy, at the instance of Pakistan?

Nor is that all. Ayesha Jalal's writings have earned her deserved respect internationally besides the ire of many people in Pakistan. Her splendid work *The State of Martial Rule* rejects "Pakistani denials of involvement in the actual fighting in the Kashmir war" well before its army intervened in 1948. It is a study of the origins of Pakistan's political economy of defence. "Pakistan's share of the spoils" on India's Partition cites facts and figures in support of her statements. The procedures for the interim period, from August 15, 1947 to March 31, 1948, and India's control over the assets meanwhile were used to India's advantage. She writes. "New Delhi's dictum of 'what it had it kept' and 'what it collected (in central revenues) it also kept' made nonsense of Pakistan's pleas for justice and fair play" (page 46). Officials in the British War Office "conceded that the Government of India's attitude towards Pakistan was one of almost indecent hostility ... Pakistan's share of the financial assets of

undivided India fell short of what it had bargained for."

It had claimed Rs. 1 billion of the estimated Rs.4 billion in cash balances but received Rs.750 million. "In addition to the Rs.200 million made available in August for its initial cash-flow requirements, Pakistan was given another Rs. 5 50 million as its full and final share of the rupee cash balances. The timetable for the actual transfer, however, was to be determined by India." These were the famous Rs.55 crores which Gandhi insisted should be handed over to Pakistan.

"Pakistan's share of the total assets and liabilities of undivided India was to be in the order of 17.5 per cent. A more complicated method was devised to determine Pakistan's share of the sterling balances. All in all Pakistan ended up with some 1147 million out of a total of £1,160 million in sterling balances held by the Reserve Bank."

Such treatment leaves deep scars on the mind. Pakistan's psyche was not unaffected. In that clime erupted the crises over Junagadh's accession to India and Kashmir's to Pakistan. Both countries adopted double standards on three vital issues the worth of a Maharaja's signature on the Instrument of Accession; the use of force; and the communal criterion.

It was in Bombay on September 25, 1947, that a Provisional Government for Junagadh *(Arzi Hukumat)* was formed with Sardar Patel's "knowledge", a biographer records. His approval was implicit. Its President was Samaldas Gandhi, a relative of Gandhi. It drew a scathing censure from one of India's finest advocates ever, Sir Chimanlal Setalvad, in a letter to *The Times of India* (October 3, 1947). Formed as it was "with the avowed object of overthrowing by force the established Government in Junagadh," the Government

of India was "bound" in law not to allow it "to start its hostile actions" on Indian territory precisely the wrong Pakistan committed three weeks later when it sent the tribal people into Kashmir. On November 9, 1947' the Indian Army moved into junagadh.

There is not one work by a scholar in India or Pakistan which analyses those murky events with even a pretence to objectivity. Officially sponsored books emerge to this day; sub *rosa*, of course. Lamb would have rendered a high service had he filled the void. He uses his undoubted gifts of scholarship in aid of pro-Pakistan polemics. The reader should ignore the polemics and concentrate on the archival disclosures. He will be struck by Britain's insistence on direct talks between India and Pakistan, as early as on October 26, 1947, and by the repeated references in private to the partition of Kashmir between the two countries while publicly the discourse centred on the principle that its people themselves should decide their future through a plebiscite.

On October 13, more than a week before the raiders entered Kashmir, V.P. Menon broached the idea gingerly with the British High Commissioner, Terence Shone, who, in turn, pressed the idea on the Ministry of Defence (November 3).

By November 27, V.P. Menon and Mohammed Ali, Secretary-General of Pakistan's Cabinet, had hammered out a draft Agreement. Two hours after Mohammed Ali's plane left Delhi, the draft was rejected by the Defence Committee of the Cabinet. It contained a paragraph to the effect that "neither Government would accept the accession of a State whose ruler was of a different religion to the majority of his subjects without resorting to a plebiscite". That included Hyderabad. That also sanctified the communal criterion.

Earlier, Jinnah had turned down precisely such an

offer which Mountbatten had made to him in writing at Lahore on November 1, 1947, no doubt with Nehru's and Patel's, approval. It was first revealed in 1971 when it was published in *Sardar Patel's Correspondence 1,94550, Volume.* It read thus: "The Governments of India and Pakistan agree that, where the ruler of a State does not belong to The community to which the majority of his subjects belong, and where the State 'has not acceded to that Dominion whose majority community is the same as the State's, the question of whether the State should finally accede to one or the other of the Dominions should in all cases be decided by an impartial reference to the will of the people." Jinnah replied that a plebiscite was "redundant and undesirable." He also refused to include Hvderabad in the reckoning.

While Indians must not be unmindful of Pakistan's grievances and the wrongs its leaders did, Pakistanis should do some serious introspection. It was their Quaid-e-Azam's arrogance and shortsightedness which left the subcontinent with the cancerous legacy of "the Kashmir dispute." Jinnah's daughter, Dina, fondly called him "Grey Wolf', seeing his absorption in H.C. Armstrong's famous biography of Mustafa Kemal which bore that title. But Jinnah was no Ataturk. The latter renounced irredentist claims and set about the task of nation-building. Jinnah could have grasped the offer of the All India Congress Committee (AICC) of June 15, 1947 "The people of the States must have a dominating voice in any decisions regarding them." Instead he flouted the democratic principle, egged on Jodhpur and Hyderabad, and accepted junagadh's accession. He miscalculated on Hyderabad's endurance as a bargaining chip and did lasting wrong to its people, those of Kashmir, his own country and to peace in South Asia. Far from showing statesmanship in his hour of victory, Jinnah embarked on a game of petty tactics.

The insightful scholar Wilfred Cantwell Smith posed a legitimate question in his work *Islam in Modern India* (19 5 7) which no Pakistani intellectual has cared to answer: "Mr. Jinnah is usually regarded, by Pakistanis at least, as a brilliant leader. That he was a clever dialectician and lawyer seems dear. Yet is it not perhaps time to bring into question his statesmanship, his political sagacity, in view of his apparent failure to foresee apparently even to try to foresee the concrete outworking of his proposals? ... If he is to be credited with all Pakistan's achievements, as is customary, should he be exempted from responsibility for its problems?"

George F. Kennan's aphorism applied to *both* sides: "When the ambivalence of one's virtue is recognised the total iniquity of one's opponent is also irreparably impaired." Memoirs abound with revelation of Pakistan's planned attack on Kashmir in August 1965. Yet, September 6, 1965, the day India marched towards Lahore in justified retaliation, is observed as Defence Day. Likewise, everyone knows that Indian armour entered East Pakistan on November 21, 1971 and a massive assault was planned for December 1971. But in Indian tallies of aggression Yahya Khan's serial attacks on December 3 rank as one more aggression.

The 1965 aggression rendered plebiscite impossible. You cannot allow a state to win territory by a plebiscite or on the conference table which it had failed to grab at its chosen forum the battlefield.

This does not affect one bit the validity of India's pledges to the people of Kashmir, specifically, the one in the letter attached to the Instrument of Accession "the question of accession should be settled by a reference to the people." This pledge must be fulfilled in the light of the conditions of today. Nehru himself called it a "proviso" to the Instrument.

There is ample evidence also to prove that Nehru had decided *to resileftom his pledges on a plebiscite as early as in 1948.* (vide *Frontline,* March 24, 1995 for details). Irrefutable evidence on this appeared in 1996 in Volume 19 of *Selected Works of Jawaharlal Nehru* (page 322). It is a highly secret Note he wrote at Sonamarg in Kashmir, dated August 25, 1952, addressed to its Prime Minister (as he was then called), Sheikh Abdullah. As a piece of cool analysis, it has no parallel in any of Nehru's writings, still less in its frank cynicism. It virtually admitted that he had set his face against a plebiscite "towards the end of December 1948". He accepted the U.N.'s plebiscite proposals on December 23, 1948 only in order to achieve a ceasefire. He was resolved to maintain "the *status quo* then existing" by brute force.

Nehru wrote: "We are superior to Pakistan in military and industrial power. But that superiority is not so great as to produce results quickly either in war or by fear of war. Therefore, our national interest demands that we should adopt a peaceful policy towards Pakistan and, at the same time, add to our strength. Strength ultimately comes not from the defence forces, but the industrial and economic background behind them. As we grow in strength, and we are likely to do so, Pakistan will feel less and less inclined to threaten or harass us, and a time will come when, through sheer force of circumstances, it will be in a mood to accept a settlement which we consider fair, whether in Kashmir or elsewhere." This was the very policy of "negotiating from strength" which he lectured to others censoriously.

Nehru continued: "Doubts in the minds of leaders percolate to their followers and to the people generally. The weakness of the situation in Kashmir is the constant discussions which go on between people holding different views. I do not know how many such groups there are, but obviously some people talk about a close

association with India, others talk about a loose association with India, yet others think, if not talk, of an association with Pakistan, and yet others talk about independence. All this confusion in ideas and constant debate weakens the basic position. What is required is a firm and clear outlook, *and no debate about basic issues. If we have that outlook, it just does not matter what the United Nations thinks or what Pakistan does*" (emphasis added~ throughout).

Nehru overlooked three factors. *Pakistan, the aggrieved and therefore revisionist state, would not acquiesce in a* status quo *established at the cost of its pride, no matter how long it continued.* Secondly, Sheikh Abdullah had even in 1948 grave reservations about the kind accession Nehru had in mind. A file in the British Library reveals that very clearly, (L/P&S/ 13/134 1). It contains a telegram from the British High Commissioner in India to London (February 11, 1948) conveying details of the talks Patrick Gordon Walker, Under-Secretary of State in the Commonwealth Relations Office, had with Nehru the day before. Nehru invited Sheikh Abdullah to join them and left. "Just *before* Nehru left, Sheikh Abdullah said he thought the solution was that Kashmir should accede to *both* Dominions... He said Kashmir's trade was with India, that India was progressive and that Nehru was an Indian. On the other hand, Kashmir's trade passed through Pakistan and a hostile Pakistan would be a constant danger. The solution therefore was that Kashmir should have its autonomy jointly guaranteed by India and Pakistan and it would delegate its foreign policy and defence to them both jointly but would look after its own internal affairs ... I asked whether Nehru would agree to this solution and he said he thought so. He had discussed it with him."

Nehru himself told Gordon Walker later that "he would be prepared to accept a solution broadly on the

lines of that proposed by Sheikh Abdullah" (paras 7 and 10). Nehru was, of course, fully aware of its impracticability. He humoured the Sheikh.

Nehru's third and gravest mistake was in underestimating the assertiveness of the people if not, indeed, of their relevance. "It must be remembered that the people of the Kashmir Valley and round-about, though highly gifted in many ways in intelligence, in artisanship, etc. are not what are called a virile people. They are soft and addicted to easy living." Events were to prove him wrong on all three points. Yet this is the disastrous policy which won national acceptance and has been followed to this day. Forgotten was his repeated pledges of a plebiscite, from 1947 to 1954, "not merely a pledge to your (Pakistan's) Government, but also to the people of Kashmir and to the world" (October 31, 1947).

History is not irrelevant to a solution of the problems that beset us. Nehru's Note ranks with NSC-68, both in its historic significance and as a guide to folly and disaster. NSC-68 also won national acceptance. As propounded by Kennan, the doctrine of containment envisaged resistance to Soviet expansion at *selected* strongpoints. He resigned as Director of the Policy Planning Staff of the U.S. State Department at the end of 1949. An ad hoc group under the chairmanship of his successor, Paul H. Nitze, prepared a paper advocating resistance on *all* points along the perimeter, regardless of whether the U.S' vital interests were affected or not. (Vietnam was a classic case of such folly.)

It urged "a firm policy intended to check and roll back the Kremlin's drive for world domination" a drive which, as the Soviet archives have revealed, simply did not exist. The National Security Council adopted the paper in 1950 having received President Truman's approval. It moulded the course of U.S. policy for the

next four decades. Like NSC-68, the Nehru Note has shaped India's Kashmir policy all these years with results that are there for all to see an estranged neighbour, an alienated State in the Union and international disapproval. This albatross has hampered India's rise to greatness and prevented the formulation of a sensible foreign policy.

History is relevant, so relevant that what followed historical blunders cannot be wished away either. India needs to work towards a solution which all three parties can accept. In 1998 India cannot contemplate Kashmir's de-accession at all. Nor can Pakistan accept the *status quo.* Why should a revisionist accept in settlement what it already has? India cannot give it a *territorial* stake in the Valley. But it can grant it a *juridical locus standi* in regard to maintenance of Kashmir's *autonomy within the Indian Union.* The Treaty will confer on India similar rights in respect of Pakistan-Occupied Kashmir (POK). There are precedents of recognition of the neighbouring state's interest in the autonomy of a given area under the acknowledged sovereignty of the state that administers it South Tyrol, Aaland Islands and, recently, Northern Ireland. The people of the state thus receive constitutional as well as international guarantees of autonomy.

There is unfortunately little prospect of any solution emerging for quite some time for the simple reason that there is little prospect of domestic political stability in either country. The entire South Asia has split polities, so great is the divide between the Opposition and the ruling parties. Bold solutions can be worked out only by men of vision and strength who command political acceptance in the country and who are skilful in winning support for their policies. Continuance of the impasse is no reason why in India and Pakistan students of public affairs should not subject the records of their respective leaders

to careful, if respectful, scrutiny and come as close as they can to an understanding of the past. Only thus can the problems be resolved.

The ruling classes of Kashmir were Rajputs, who seem to have taken refuge in these mountain fastnesses when the Rajput hegemony in the Punjab was shattered in the twelth century by the invasion of Mohammad of Ghor. Their petty principalities, the most important of which were those of Jammu, Khistwar, and Bhadarwah, maintained their independence even during the Moghul times, though no doubt they paid a nominal tribute and accepted the overlordship of the Padishah of Hindustan. On the disintegration of the Moghul kingdom in first half of the eighteenth century, following the invasion of Nadir Shah, the Rajput rulers who held sway around the town of Jammu regained their complete independence. They even acquired under Rajah Dhrov Deo and his son, Rajah Ranjit Deo, some prominence in the politics of the Northern Punjab. Ranjit Deo was a ruler who was highly respected in the hilly tracts over which he held sway. He received a jagir from the Durranni king for sending a small force to Kashmir via Banihal to punish Rajah Sukh Tewan. He subdued most of the petty hill rajahs around Jammu, notably Nihar Singh, Rajah of Khistwar; Shamsher Chand, Rajah of Chenani; Kirchipal, Rajah of Bhadarwah; and Amrit Pal, Rajah of Besolhi. He also held many jagirs in the Punjab, especially in the district of Gujerat. But this independence which Ranjit Deo achieved was short-lived. With the breakdown of Mohammadan authority in the Punjab the great Sikh misls began to acquire political and territorial importance, and Jammu, along with the rest of the Northern Punjab, became the scene of rivalry between the sardars of the Bhangi, Kaneihya, and Sukerchakia misls. The sardars of the Bhangi misl attack Jammu in about 1770 and compelled Ranjit Deo to pay tribute to

them. Ranjit Deo had two sons, Brij Lal and Dulel Singh. Brij Lal revolted against his father and south the help of Charrat Singh, the Sukerchakia chief, and together they attacked Jammu. Ranjit Deo naturally depended for help upon the Bhangi chief whose overlordship he had accepted. In the fight that took place at Jammu, Charrat Singh was killed. The Sukerchakia partisans, fearing that Janda Singh, the Bhangi chief, might profit by this catastrophe, had him also murdered. Brij Lal, who succeeded his father in 1780, was a great friend of Mahan Singh, the son of Charrat Singh, who is known to history as the father of Ranjit Singh. Brij Lal now considered himself strong enough to claim from the Bhangi chieftains some of his estates which had fallen to them and to reassert his independence. The Bhangis secured the help of the Kaneihya misl, and in the fight that followed Mahan Singh was defeated and Brij Lal had to agree to a humiliating peace, by which he undertook to pay a tribute to the Kaneihya chieftain. On the pretext that this tribute had fallen into arrears, the Kaneihya chieftain decided to attack Jammu. He requested the help of Mahan Singh in this expedition.

Mahan Singh, though he had vowed solemn vows of friendship with Brij Lal, forgot his obligations and agreed to help. But one who was not loyal even to his own sworn friend was not likely to be faithful to a temporary alliance. Before the Kaneihya chieftain began to march, Mahan Singh attacked Jammu, sacked the town and plundered the treasure accumulated in the palace. Laden with the booty he retired to the plains, leaving Brij Lal Deo to the government of this principality. The sack of Jammu saved its independence for a time. The contending Sikh chieftains, knowing that there was nothing left in the tresury, left Jammu well alone. The sovereignty of the House of Dhrov Deo over the surrounding country disappeared, but Brij lal was still in

possession of the Jammu town and fort and continued to maintain the form and court of petty royalty. The hilly districts of the interior remained in the possession of the other members of the family, who held them as jagirs. On the death of Brij Lal, he was succeeded by his one year old child Sampurna Deo. The State was managed by Mian Mota, a cousin of Brij lal. Sampurna Deo died at the age of eleven, and was succeeded by Jeet Singh, the son of the Dulel Singh.

Gulab Sing is descended in direct line from Rajah Dhrov through his third son, Mian Soorut Deo. Soorut Deo, who was thus the third brother of Rajah Ranjit Deo, had a son, Mian Zorawar Singh. His son was Kishore Sing, who held the jagir of Andarwah in jammu Tehsil. Gulab Singh was his eldest son. The following is the genealogy of the family: Some doubt was cast on the genealogy of the Jammu family by Cunningham and others, whose enthusiastic admiration of the Sikhs led them to an unreasonable hatred of Rajah Gulab Singh, whom they considered to be the chief cause of the ruin of the Sikh State. But there is no doubt whatever about the genealogy of the family. Zorawar Singh was alive during a considerable portion of Maharaja Ranjit Singh's reign, and Mian Kishore Singh, the father of Gulab Singh, was also later on at the Lahore Court. Maharajah Ranjit Singh, in his grant of the Raj of Jammu to Gulab Singh, mentions the fact of Gulab's ancestors having been the rulers of the State. Ranjit Singh's father and grandfather had fought against the Rajah of Jammu, Ranjit Deo and Brij Lal Deo, and therefore knew the history of that family intimately. The ancestry of Maharajah Gulab Singh became a matter of controversy, not only though the sycophancy of his courtiers. A Kashmiri Pandit went to the length of identifying the thirty-five missing kings in Kalhanas' list of Kashmir kings in the Rajataranjini with the early ancestors of the Jammu family. There is,

however, not the least doubt that Gulab Singh was descended in the direct male line from Rajah Dhrov Deo, the Rajput prince of the Surya Vansi dynasty, who ruled over Jammu in the eighteenth century.

Mian Kishore Singh is reported to have been a valiant soldier. he lived mainly on his jagir at Andarwah, eight miles from the modern town of Samba. His financial condition does not seem to have been prosperous, and he achieved distinction only after his sons attained prominence. Kishore Singh married a Rajput lady of the Jij cast. The marriage was celebrated at Gam Madtha, a village in the Besolhi district. By this lady he had three sons, Gulab Singh, Dhyan Singh, and Suchet Singh. Gulab Singh was born in 1792, Dhyan Singh was born in 1796, and Suchet Singh in 1801. Early in his childhood Gulab Singh was sent to live with his grandfather, Zorawar Singh, a stern old warrior who lived in his jagir, Dyawago, at some distance from Jammu. Like all true Rajputs of the time, Zorawar Singh had great contempt for the study of letters, and does not seem to have taken any trouble to give his grandson a literary education. All that Gulab Singh seems to have learnt was to read and write. But though Zorawar neglected to give Gulab Singh any school education, he trained him in all manly arts. Thus even at a very early age Gulab Singh could ride his horse like any cavalry trooper and wield his sword with deadly effect. He was also an excellent marksman.

An opportunity soon came for Gulab Singh to exhibit his prowess. The affairs of Jammu were in great confusion. Rajah Jeet Singh, the nephew of Brij Lal Deo, was an incompetent man, and his rani was an ambitious, intriguing women. She took the management of affairs in her own hands. Taking advantage of the confusion resulting from this, Ranjit Singh ordered, in 1808, Bhai Hukam Singh to reduce Jammu and to annex to the Sikh

State. The Sikh general advanced with a very considerable force and reached the confines of Jammu. Mian Mota, who was in charge of the defence, organised a small force and came out of the town to give battle. When the force met outside the Gumat Gate, young Gulab Singh, who was but a boy of sixteen, was found taking an active and prominent part in the battle. His spirit of adventure had been roused. Here was a unique opportunity to distinguished himself before his Rajput brethren and to earn a name for himself. Without even obtaining permission from his grandfather, Gulab Singh borrowed a charger from the stables and appeared on the battlefield. His prowess on that day attracted the attention of Hukam Singh, the enemy commander. The defence was to some extent successful, and Gulab Singh's part in it was not mean one. Hukam Singh had to withdraw his forces to Saidgarh. But a skirmish could not stem the onrush of Ranjit Singh's forces, and the whole province passed under the suzerainty of Ranjit Singh and the Lahore government.

Soon after this Gulab Singh left his grandfather's protection. It seems that one day he took a horse from his grandfather's stable and went for a ride in the forest. By careless riding he hurt the animal, and on return his grandfather, who, true to his soldier's creed, loved his horse as comrade, scolded the body for his carelessness. The sensitive mind of the boy he was still hardly more than seventeen was so hurt by these unkind words that he took some ornaments from his mother and left the house at night with a few attendants. His original idea was to enlist in the army of Shah Shuja, the unlucky ruler of Kabul, whom his uncle, Shah Mahmud, had expelled from Afghanistan and succeeded on the Kabul throne with the help of the Bakarzai tribe. But when he reached the Indus his attendants refused to go to Afghanistan. Foiled in his intention to go to Kabul, Gulab Singh

approached Dewan Khushwaqt Rai, who was managing the Jagir of Sardar Nehal Singh of Attari. The Dewan was intensely disliked by the people of the jagir, whom he oppressed greatly by his merciless exactions. As there was great unrest among them, the Dewan decided to raise a small force for the purpose of defending himself and his master's property. Gulab Singh approached the Dewan and offered his services, which were accepted. He is himself responsible for the story that a certain jamadar, who was formerly in the employ of Zorawar Singh, reported to Khushwaqt Rai the identity of the new recruit. Gulab Singh did not have to wait long to win his spurs. Soon after he joined service a skirmish occurred in which the Dewan's forces were routed by the villagers, who attacked the fort itself. It was only Gulab Singh's courage and intrepid action that saved the fort and enabled the Dewan to put down the incipient rebellion. This action of his attracted attention, and Hukam Singh, who already had occasion to notice the young Main's prowess, reported the matter to Ranjit Singh. Ranjit Singh asked Main Mota to send Gulab Singh down to him. In Samvat 1867 Gulab Singh joined the army of Ranjit Singh at Daska, a village a few miles from Sialkot.

Gulab Singh

The author of *Gulabnama* says that Gulab Singh was taken into Ranjit Singh's service as commander of a regiment on a monthly salary of Rs.275. This is not unlikely. Cunningham, and, following him, most English writers, assert that Gulab Singh was employed at the Lahore court as a running foot-man. This is quite improbable. It is clear that he was personally well known to Ranjit Singh and was holding a sufficiently important post near the Maharajah, for we find him, almost immediately after his own appointment, presenting his brother Mian Dhyan Singh at Court. Dhyan Singh was appointed on a monthly salary of Rs.60. Kishore Singh

was also introduced to Maharajah Ranjit Singh, who appointed him to a civil post carrying Rs. 55 a month.

In 1809, when Gulab Singh joined the Lahore Court, Ranjit Singh had not attained the eminence which at a later time earned for him the sobriquet of the Lion of the Punjab. He was as yet looked upon only as a rising potentate. His empire, which later on extended from the Pamirs to Sind and from Peshawar to the Sutlej and included within it not only the Punjab but the North-West Frontier provinces and the territories of Jammu and Kashmir, was then only in formation. Ranjit Singh had acquired Lahore and the title of Rajah only in 1799. It was not until 1802, when he was just twenty-two, that he attacked and conquered Amritsar. Moreover, the power, the power of the Sikh misls had not been finally broken till the destruction of the Nakkai confederacy in 1810. In 1809, the English concluded a treaty with him, as they saw in him a formidable frontier chief who was likely to unite the forces of the Khalsa under his personal rule. The Maharajah was daily strengthening his position, but it is necessary to remember that in 1809, when Gulab Singh joined his service, he was not yet the renowned and masterful King of the Punjab, but merely an important and rising Sikh ruler, claiming his title from the grant of the Afghan and his power from the alliance of the Sikh misls.

In 1812 Ranjit Singh started on his first expedition against Kashmir, in alliance with Fateh Khan, Minister of Shah Mahmud of Kabul. To understand the events which follow it is necessary to realise the position of the Afghan kingdom at this time. In the beginning of the nineteenth century the Durrani Empire comprised the whole of the Indus Valley, including Multan, Kashmir, and the hilly provinces attached to the valley. Peshawar, Attock, and other places were considered integral parts of Afghanistan in the same sense as are Herat and

Kandahar to-day. Kashmir was a recognised province of the empire. Zaman Shah, whose name had once been a terror to the East India Company, was on the throne in 1803, and it was from him that Ranjit Singh had received the title of Rajah in 1799. But in that year the Shah was deposed by Mahmud, his brother. Mahmud was in turn expelled by Shah Shuja, the unlucky sovereign who plays an important part in the history of the Punjab during the next thirty years. In 1809 the Bakarzai tribe again rebelled, and its chief, Fateh Khan, son of Poynda Khan, put Mahmud back on the throne, keeping to himself all the power in the State as Wazir. It was this Wazir Fateh Khan who allied himself with Ranjit in the invasion of Kashmir. General Mokam Chand was, on behalf of Ranjit Singh, in charge of the expedition, and the army marched up the Jhelum Valley. The alliance, however, broke on the way, as Fateh Khan tried to forestall the Dewan. Though the trick failed, Fateh Khan stuck to Kashmir. In 1813 the Maharajah attempted to oust Fateh Khan, and Ranjit Singh led a forced in person into Kashmir. In this campaign Gulab Singh's regiment played a prominent part. On the advice of Ajar Khan of Rajouri, the Punjab army was divided into two portions, one section proceeding by way of Poonch under Ranjit himself, and the other under Dewan Ram Dyal, the grandson of the great Mokam Chand, by way of Bahramagalla. this division of the invading forces was disastrous, and Ram Dyal's army was cut to pieces by the Governor of Kashmir. The people also rose in rebellion behind the Sikhs. Gulab Singh and his company escaped with difficulty. In these perilous circumstances Gulab Singh showed the greatest courage in reassembling his forces and bringing them back safely. His father, Main Kishore Singh, was wounded in this campaign. Ranjit Singh was greatly pleased with Gulab Singh's achievement, and gave him as jagirs Kharoti and Beyol and promoted him in his command. At this time Main Mota, the brother of

Zorawar Singh, was murdered at Jammu through the intrigue of the Sikh Governor, and this event had a great influence on the career of Gulab Singh. We have already mentioned how the ambitious Rani Bindral had tried to take in her own hands the management of Jammu. The great hindrance to her plans was her uncle-in-law, Main Mota Singh, who wielded great influence in the area. In 1812 Prince Kharrak Singh, the eldest son of Ranjit Singh, to whom Jammu was allotted as jagir, came to the knowledge of Ranjit Singh he ordered that the government of Jammu should be carried on in consultation with Mota Singh, and that he should be given a Jagir bringing an annual income of Rs.12,000. This displeased the Rani greatly. When Kharrak Singh returned to Lahore he left Dewan Ajit Singh, Khullal of Gujarat, as Governor. The Rani, nothing daunted, intrigued with the Dewan, over whom she acquired great influence, and persuaded him to order the assassination of Main Mota. This dastardly act was entrusted to two bravos, Traho and Sutro, who waylaid the main and murdered him.

One day, on their way to the Durbar at Lahore, Gulab Singh and Dhyan Singh encountered the murderers by the Bhati Gate and killed them in broad daylight. This action of the brothers caused a great sensation in Lahore, especially as these bravos were known to be under the protection of Prince Kharrak Singh. When Gulab Singh arrived at the Durbar the guards insisted on his surrendering his arms, which he refused to do. But Ranjit Singh took no notice of the incident, merely remarking that Gulab Singh should be more careful of his life. As he feared vengeance against the brothers, Ranjit Singh took care to put Dhyan Singh under Jamadar Khushal Singh, the famous Deorhi Officer or Chamberlain, who was at the time the most powerful personage at the Lahore Court. Gulab Singh continued to

rise in favour at the Lahore Court. At the siege of Jullundur he distinguished himself greatly, and was as a reward given additional jagirs of Chohana and Ramgarh. He was also empowered to raise as his own a company of 200 soldiers. This was the first force which owned Gulab Singh as its master. Ramgarh was reduced after some fighting, and Main Zorawar Singh, with the family, took his permanent abode there.

It 1815 Reasi, which is an important district in the proximity of Jammu, was awarded by Ranjit Singh as jagir to Main Dewan Singh. Dewan Singh was the mortal enemy of Gulab Singh, and was one of the prime movers in the murder of Mota Singh. The ambitious chief, who dreamed of uniting all the hilly country over which his ancestor ruled into one State, naturally disliked the grant of Reasi to his enemy. As Dewan Singh was in the plains, Gulab Singh forestalled him and took possession of the area and put Wazir Zorawar Kalhoria, who was destined to earn undying fame as the conqueror of Ladak and Tibet, in charge of its defence. But his rival was a person of courage and influence. Dewan singh had a large body of supporters, and at their instigation the whole district rose against Gulab Singh's unauthorised action. Zorawar was hard pressed in the fort but the courage, fortitude, and resourcefulness which later on enabled him to conquer Ladak and Baltistan and lead an army into the heart of Tibet were not to be shaken by a local siege. He held the town in spite of all that the enemy could do. When Kishore Singh heard of the plight of the garrison at Reasi he sent a few servants to Jammu to inform Gulab Singh of the position. Gulab Singh was away in Lahore, but Dewan Amir Chand, the father of Dewan Jwala Sahai, who figures greatly in the later events of Gulab Singh's life, was in charge of affairs at Jammu, and he took up the matter with all expedition. There was no money in the treasury and there were no troops at his

command. He tried to enlist the support of the Rajputs of the locality, but they, envious of Gulab Singh's rising position, held back. Amir Chand, however, was not a man who easily lost hope. He borrowed money from a merchant in Jammu, collected as much arms and ammunition as he could, and marched on Reasi. He had only forty men with him, but the Dewan obtained recruits on the way by producing a letter which he declared he had received from Gulab Singh to the effect that he would soon be coming himself and that he was in greater favour than ever at Lahore. With his followers thus increased he reached Reasi and relieved the garrison.

Almost within six years of his taking service in Lahore, Gulab Singh had become an important grandee. He was in possession of many estates granted to him as jagir in recognition of his meritorious services, and he was among the few noblemen entitled to maintain a regular force of their own. Rajah Dhyan Singh also had advanced greatly in the favour of the Lahore Durbar. In all the campaigns that the Sikh King carried on at this time Gulab Singh played a prominent part. Especially at the siege of Multan, in 1819, his personal bravery attracted Ranjit Singh's favourable notice. During the siege, which was conducted under the supervision of Ranjit Singh, one of the Sikh sardars fell dead at the very foot of the fort. The besiegers were being subjected to heavy cannon fire, and Ranjit Singh, who was fond of the dead sardar, commanded his officers to ride to the spot and bring back the dead body. No one ventured except Gulab Singh, who, without a word, rushed forward to the amazement of the whole army and brought back on his horse the body of his dead comrade.

In the frontier campaigns of Ranjit Singh between 1815 and 1820 Gulab Singh played a prominent and noteworthy part. The most important among them was

the campaign against the tribe of Yusuf in 1819 which enabled Ranjit Singh to acquire Peshawar. In 1819 Dhyan Singh was made Deorhi officer, of Grand Chamberlain, when Khushal Singh was sent as Governor of Multan. This appointment gave Dhyan Singh great influence over the Maharajah. At this time the hilly area behind Jammu was being terrorised by an intrepid chief by the name of Main Dedo. His word was law in the interior, and he even attacked the Sikh garrison, which numbered over 2,000, in the Jammu fort. The local rajput chiefs sympathised with him and afforded no help to the Sikhs. The Sikhs laid hands on some of the leading Rajputs, held them as hostages, and sent them to Sheikhpura to be detained in prison. Dewan Bhavani Das called Juna Dingh, a Rajput chieftain, to Jammu and cut him to pieces on the mere suspicion of having given refuge to Dedo. This was the signal for a general revolt. The whole country behind the Jammu town threw off the Sikh yoke, and Main Dedo placed himself at the head of the popular discontent. His adventures took a more serious turn, and it became clear either that he had to be put down or that Ranjit Singh would have to withdraw to Sialkot.

In open Durbar one day Gulab singh requested to be entrusted with the duty of putting down this insurrection. Having secured the commission he started without delay, accompanied by Sardar Attar Singh Kallol and Sardar Jagan Nath Singh, of Attari. At his request the Rajput chiefs held as hostages at Sheikhpura were released. On reaching Jammu he proceeded vigorously to put down the rebellion. The local chiefs surrendered, but Main Dedo continued his depredations. The methods by which he brought Dedo to book were characteristic. It soon came to his notice that Dedo got free supplies in all the villages where he went. The bandit chief used to requisition all that he wanted, and the villagers out of fear obeyed him. It was necessary to stop this is Dedo

was to be captured. Gulab Singh hit on a stratagem. He suddenly appeared in some out-of-the-way villagers brought the supplies he announced his identity, and punished them for helping the bandit. When this procedure was followed in a few villages Dedo found it difficult to get any supplies, because, when he sent his requisition, the villagers, not knowing whether it was Gulab Singh trying their loyalty or Dedo himself, refused to obey.

After this manoeuver Gulab Singh marched on Jugti, which was the headquarters of Dedo. The himself was not there, but his aged father defended the place, though he was past ninety. The old man was cut to pieces at the entrance to his house by Attar Singh Kallol. Dedo then took refuge on the Trikuti peak. The peak was surrounded, and in this last extremity Dedo, after committing his wife and children to the care of one Brahmachari, who was in the temple of the Devi, came out bravely to sell his life dear. He encountered Attar Singh, who was responsible for the death of his aged father, and challenged him to open combat. Attar Singh was killed in the fight, but Dedo was immediately shot dead by Gulab Singh's soldiers.

In 1820 Jammu was given to Gulab Singh in farm. Ranjit Singh followed the medieval system of farming out provinces for revenue. Jammu had always been considered an unruly and difficult province to manage, and when the government of the province was offered to Gulab Singh he represented that it was impossible to collect the revenue, as the place had not been completely subdued. Ranjit Singh therefore allowed him to keep an army of his own and gave him the title of Rajah, and Mian Kishore Singh and Dewan Chand were sent to instal him in his office. This appointment to the government of Jammu should not be confused with the conferment of that principality as an hereditary

possession three years later. In 1821 Gulab Singh undertook the conquest of Khistwar. With this object he marched into the interior. On the way he called on Dyal Chand, Rajah of Chenani, to do him obcisance. But as the Rajah would not come, Gulab Singh sent a man to call on him. The Rajah agreed to help in the conquest of Khistwar. The Chenab was crossed and the camp was pitched at Doda. Instead of directly attacking Khistwar he decided first to create political dissension in the State. Rajah Tej Singh, of Khistwar, was a suspicious man, but he was served by an able Minister, by name Wazir Lakhpat. Gulab Singh sent a letter to Lakhpat in the following words: 'I have received your petition and understood the contents. You are ordered to present your self before me without delay and to discharge the duties entrusted to you satisfactorily, in which case my kindness will always protect you.'

Gulab Singh has taken good care that the latter should fall into the hands of the Rajah and not the Wazir. Not suspecting the stratagem of Gulab Singh, the Rajah imprisoned the Wazir, who, how ever, escaped to Bhadarwah. Khistwar was conquered, and this was Gulab Singh's first independent province.

Wazir Lakhpat was taken into Gulab Singh's service, and till his death in Kashmir, in 1846, he was one of the Rajah's most trusted officers. He proved himself loyal to his master, and Gulab Singh sent him on many notable expeditions.

An important expedition entrusted to Gulab Singh at this time was the reduction of Rajouri, which was under the rule of a local Mussulman dynasty of Rajput descent. The Rajah, whose name was Ajar Khan, has given Ranjit Singh more than one occasion for enmity. It was his double-faced advice which brought disaster on Ranjit Singh in his expedition against Kashmir in 1823. Gulab

Singh was entrusted with the duty of capturing him, in which he succeeded. These distinguished services to the Lahore Government were rewarded by the Maharajah with the grant to Gulab Singh and his successors of the principality of Jammu, with the hereditary title of Rajah. For this purpose the Maharajah moved in great state to Aknoor. The town of Aknoor is situated at the point where the Chenab debouches into the plain. Placed on the bank of the river, with a magnificent range of mountains as a background, the town presents a most striking appearance. The fort at Aknoor was built at the end of the eighteenth century by Mian Tej Singh, who was feudatory of Rajah Ranjit Deo. Ranjit Singh took up his residence in the fort and made preparation for the ceremony of Rajtilak, or installation.

Gulab Singh, who was away on an expedition in the hills, was summoned to the royal presence. On 4th Ashad, 1879, Ranjit Singh installed him on the Gadi and personally performed the Rajtilak, When marking the saffron on the forehead, Ranjit Singh, instead of marking it upwards, as is the custom, marked it downwards. When a courtier asked him why he had departed from established usage, Ranjit Singh replied: 'I firmly sowed the seed in the soil that it may thrive well, hold its root strong in the earth, and last for ever.' On the same day he gave to Mian Suchet Singh the jagir of Ramnagar with the title of Rajah. Gulab Sing was surprised that Dhyan Singh, who was then in high favour with the Maharajah, was not given any principality, and requested that, since both he and Suchet Singh had been so honoured, Dhyan Singh also might be granted a jagir. Ranjit Singh was highly pleased with this thoughfulness on the part of Gulab Singh, and remarked that so far as Dhyan Singh was concerned, he did not propose to award him a jagir, as his intention was to make him a Raja-i-Rajagan, or a'Rajah of Rajahs.' Gulab Singh was just thirty years old.

He had every reason to be proud of his achivements. With nothing but a name, a proud ancestry, and his own talents he had succeeded in getting back his hereditary possession and in being recognised by Ranjit Singh as the Rajah of Jammu. His fame as a warrior had reverberate through the Punjab. He had become an important grandee at the Lahore Court, where his brothers also stood high in favour. Dhyan Singh, through hardly more than twenty-seven, was, next to Aziz-ud-din and Dina Nath, the most influential man in the Lahore Government. He held, besides, the post of Deorhi Officer, which kept him in intimate touch with Ranjit Singh. Suchet Sigh was reputed to be the most handsome man in the Sikh army, and he was also equally in favour with the Maharajah.

After the conferment of Jammu, Gulab Singh was sent on an expedition against Azam Khan of Tihri, on the frontier. The army was nominally under the command of Prince Sher Singh, but to him were attached Gulab Singh and Hari Singh Nalwa. The latter was the noblest and the most gallant of the Sikh generals of his time, the very embodiment of honour, chivalry, and courage. His position at the Court was high, and he was the idol of the sikhs. With these two commanders attached to him Sher Singh marched to the frontier. A moulvi by the name of Khalifa Saidula had roused the religious fanaticism of the tribes, and the campaign was more difficult than was originally anticipated. Immediate victory did not fall to the Sikh army, and the handsome but chicken-hearted Sher Singh proposed to retire. He was, however, dissuaded from this disastrous course by Gulab Singh, whose brothers had also by this time joined the campaign. In 1823 Dost Mohammad, brother of Wazir Fateh Khan, became King of Kabul. The kingdom which he inherited had already lost Multan, Kashmir, Peshawar, Dera Ghazi Khan, and Dera Ismail Khan. The frontier

was naturally the scene of further disturbance, and in 1826 Saidulla again raised the standard of revolt.

Sardar Budha Singh, who was in charge of the frontier districts, was sorely tried, and Gulab Singh, who was in Jammu, received orders to go to his help. The Rajah immediately sent his forces under Dewan Amir Chand, and himself joined them later, by forced marched, at Peshawar. Hari Singh Nalwa also joined him there. The Pathans, on retreating, had destroyed the bridge at Attock, which made further advance difficult. Leaving the army behind, Gulab Singh crossed the Indus with a very small force and attacked the enemy from behind a hill with only 300 men. While the fray was in progress Hari Singh Nalwa, who was not to be left behind in any act of valour, joined him. The enemy, not knowing the strength of the attacking force, retired. Gulab Singh was wounded in the arm on this occasion. For fifteen days the army halted there. The Sikh chief proposed the erection of entrenchments with a view to defending the position, but Gulab Singh, with superior wisdom, pointed out that in view of the strength of the enemy safety lay for the sikhs in their mobility, and dissuaded Hari Singh from the course which he had suggested. The tribes sought the help of Dost Mohammad, who marched towards the Indus with a large force. Ranjit Singh, who realised the gravity of the danger, himself arrived at the scene of the operations with the leading nobles in his train. Before any fighting took place, Dost Mohammad's discontented brothers, Pir Mohammad and Sultan Mohammad, put themselves in touch with Gulab Singh. Sultan Mohammad requested a personal interview with Gulab singh with the object of negotiating for his own safety. An interview was arranged between him and Ranjit Singh, who was well pleased at the collapse of the Afghan invasion. The Sikh ruler accepted the submission of Sultan Mohammad, and agreed to invest him with

Peshwar. This proposal made Hari Singh angry, and it was only at the personal intervention of Gulab Singh that Sultan Mohammad was not sent back to his brother. Furious at the desertion of his own brothers, Dost Mohammad marched back to Kabul. In 1825 Gulab Singh made further conquests in the hilly tracts lying in the interior of Jammu. With Dewan Amir chand and Mian Gulab singh Dhulpatia he took the fort of Samarth and reduced the surrounding country. In the period between 1829 and 1827 Gulab Singh brought under his effective control the numerous principalities lying between the Kashmir Valley and Jammu, except Poonch, which was the jagir of Dhyan Singh; Jasrota, which was given to Hira Singh, and Ramnagar, which belonged to Suchet Singh. Gulab Singh himself conquered Reasi, Khistwar, Rajouri, and Samarth, which with Jammu, formed a very extensive dominion for a subordinate prince.

To the management of his principality Gulab Singh devoted great attention. Other chiefs of the Lahore Court who held jagirs spent most of their time in Lahore in attendance on Ranjit Singh, and depended on their managers for their income-a system that led to great abuses. The managers, not being under the control of their masters, were only concerned to squeeze out of the cultivators as much money as they could, and took no interest in their welfare. The chiefs were only interested in getting money regularly and the managers only in satisfying their masters and in enriching themselves. Gulab Singh, from the time that Jammu was conferred on him, followed a totally different policy. He stayed mostly in Jammu and appeared at Lahore only when summoned. He took great personal interest in the management of his property and the government of his dominions which, by their hilly nature and by the independent character of their people, called for personal attention.

In this duty he was helped by a family of remarkable men, whose devotion to him and whose ability in his service he rewarded most munificently. This was the family of which Dewan Jwala Sahai, later the Prime Minister of the State and Gulab Singh's plenipotentiary in the negotiation of all confidential matters, was the most important member. Dewan Amir Chand, the father of Jwala Sahai, was the managing agent of Gulab Singh in the Newal Ilaqa, and when Jammu was granted as an hereditary principality in 1823, Amir Chand was made Madar-ul-Maham, or cheif Minister, of Jammu. In 1836, when Dewan Amir Chand died, his eldest son, Dewan of gulab Singh. Jwala Sahai had two brothers, Dewan Hari Chand and Dewan Nihal Chand, both of Whom were employed by Gulab Singh in important civil and military capacities.

The Sikh Anarchy

On the 27th June, 1839, Maharajah Ranjit Singh died at the age of 59. A few months before his death his powers had visibly declined and the government of the kingdom was in the hands of Dhyan Singh, the Dewan. Rajah Dina Nath had the control of finance,s and Fakir Aziz-ud-Din was the Foreign Minister, but the authority of the State was in the hands of Rajah Dhyan Singh. Ranjit Singh was succeeded by his son, Kharrak Singh, an imbecile and a voluptuary, who was in the hands of his favourite, Chet Singh. This alienated the great officers of the Court, who were not willing to surrender their power to a court favourite. Forgetting their own quarrels, the leading rajahs and sardars joined hands, and on 8th October, 1839, the most important of them, with Nao Nihal Singh, the heir apparent, at their head, forced their way into the palace. Kharrak Singh was tying his turban. Gulab Singh killed the doorkeeper and broke upon the door, though Kharrak Singh tried to lock it from inside. The Maharajah refused to yield up his favourite and held him in his

arms, but Gulab Singh tore him away. Chet Singh ran into a dungeon, where Dhyan Singh followed him an killed him.

After this, Gulab Singh left the Lahore Court and went on a pilgrimage to Gaya, returning thence direct to Jammu. The death of Chet Singh had, however, not improved the prospects of his family. Nao Nihal Singh, Kharrak Singh's young son, was an able and ambitious prince, and it was his undisguised object to work the ruin of Gulab Singh and his brothers. Ge decided to attack Jammu and reduce the too presumptuous subject, who by this time held Jammu, Reasi, Khistwar, Rajouri,and other hill principalities, besides numerous districts give on contract by the Lahore Government. To reduce him was not an easy affair. Nao Nihal Singh realised this and proceeded systematically to concentrate a very strong force at favorable points. On the pretext of preparing for a campaign against Mandi, a large force under General Ventura was concentrated to the east of Jammu. Nao Nihal Singh was compelled, however, to postpone the campaign for a few months owing to Afghan troubles. When these were over, and before he could undertake the campaign, Kharrak singh died on the 5th November, 1840. But the same day Nao Nihal Singh also died as a result of an accidental fall of an archway under which he passed on his return from the obsequies of his father. Gulab singh's eldest son, Ootam Singh, rode with the prince and died as a result of the same accident. According to Dr. Honigberger, who was present at Lahore and treated the Prince, Dhyan Singh himself was injured. These facts should dispose of the baseless suggection of Caunningham that the fall of the archway was not accidental, but was the result of design by the Jammu Rajahs.

The death of Nao Nihal Singh left the Lahore throne vacant. Dhyan Singh favoured Sher Singh, a reputed son

of Ranjit Singh, but Gulab singh, Khushal Singh, and Bhai Ram Singh declared themselves in favour of Chand Kour, the widow of Kharrak Singh, who assumed the reins of government with the title of Regent.A compromise was for the time arrangement, and Sher Singh accepted the position of Vice-REgent. Dhyan Singh kept all of from this arrangement and returned to Jammu. From there he negotiated with Sher Singh, who also had withdrawn from the capital. Winning over some divisions of the army, Sher Singh declared himself king and attacked Lahore, where he had been promised support by Dhyan Singh, But the Prime Minister was away in Jammu, and Gulab Singh, who was in the fort, refused to surrender it. Sher Singh had, in fact, calculated without the host. Gulab singh's loyalty to Mai Chand Kour upset all his plans. Sher Singh, who marched on the capital with a large force, was held up in front of Lahore. Gulab Singh advised Mai Sahib to offer resistance, and himself too, command of the forces within the citadel. With him in the fort were Rajah Hira Singh, Attar Singh Sindhanwalla, and Mansul Singh Sindu. The city was put in a state of defence and guns were placed at all the city gates. Gulab singh was indefatigable in his efforts to strengthen the defence, and gave four months pay as gratuity to the garrison. He personally went round to every post, inspected the garrison, and encouraged them by promises and rewards. This unexpected decision to hold the fort against the army which had gone over to Sher Singh created a difficult situation for that Price. Sher Singh was now forced to lay siege to Lahore and to declare war against the constituted authority of the State, while Gulab Singh stood forward as the champion of the Sikh Government. Sher Singh, however, found unexpected support in Rajah Suchet Singh and General Ventura, both of whom acknowledged him as King. He had now under his command 70,000 troops. By bribing the gatekeeper, Sheer Singh was able to gain access to the

city, but Gulab Singh defended the citadel with heroism in the face of vastly superior numbers. The attack began against the Hazuri Bagh Gate. The gate was blown in, but the small force which entered the city was shot down by the Dogra soldiers of Gulab Singh placed behind the gate, and the attack was repulsed. Soon afterwards sher Singh was forced to withdraw from Hazuri Bagh. Successive assaults were repulsed and Gulab singh maintained himself in the fort for five days. At the end of the fifth day news arrived that Dhyan Singh was approaching Lahore. He was given a royal ovation by the populace and Sher Singh personally went to receive him at the city gate. Gulab Singh was offered the position of minister under the new regime, he was in no mood to take part in the intrigues of Lahore, and preferred to return to his own dominions. It is said that when he left the fort he carried away with him the accumulated treasures of Ranjit Singh which were there. Sixteen carts were filled with rupees and other silver coins, while 500 horsemen were each entrusted with a bag of gold mohurs. With this vast treasure he returned to Jammu, where his presence was urgently required in support of the Ladak campaign, which was now in full swing.

In 1841 disaster overtook the British arms in Afghanistan. The garrison at Jalalabad was being besieged, and to relieve it a British force was equipped at Peshawar. The co-operation of the Sikhs was necessary. To obtain this Major Lawrence was sent to Peshwar. His duty was to keep the Sikhs in good humour and to secure from them as much help as possible.

To co-operate with the British expedition which was being organised on the frontier, the Lahore Government very reluctantly deputed Gulab Singh, who was at that time at Hazara. Gulab Singh's position was by no means easy. He knew well enough that the Lahore authorities were not in any way anxious to help the British in their

Kabul expedition. At the same time, being gifted with farsighted views in politics, he knew that this was the occasion to secure the firm friendship of the British. He was therefore personally anxious to afford all help, provided it was clearly understood that the obligation was to him and not to the Lahore Government. The position of the British was desperate. They had been driven out of Afghanistan. Their own base was far away and on their line of communication was the Sikh State, whose neutrality, if not help, was essential for success. The Lahore Government was reluctant to afford any help, and this was known to the British authorities. Gulab Singh who knew when not to hurry, also arrived in Peshawar, and struck his tents on the left bank of the river. His orders were 'to march to Peshawar, to coerce all mutineers, and cooperate with the English.' The Rajah, however, encamped on the left side of the river, and the first communication he addressed to Major Lawrence was a mild hint not to proceed by the direct road from Peshawar to Attock as he might be attacked by the Nuseeb battalions. This advice was take. Gulab Singh, however, managed to put the Nuseeb out of the way, and on the 3rd February, 1842, he moved on towards Peshwar in advance of the British troops. The Rajah took fully ten days from the Indus to Peshawar, a distance which he had on many former occasions covered in three days.

The original intention of the British Government was to persuade the Lahore Government to send a sikh contingent with them to Jalalabad. Previous to the arrival of Gulab Singh the command of the frontier force was entrusted to General Mehtab Singh, whose attitude towards the British was frankly hostile. When Gulab Singh arrived on the scene he told Lawrence that it was not advisable to take the Sikhs to Jalalabad. In their impatience the British commanders urged on the Rajah the necessity of making an example and of disbanding

the battalions which had mutinied. Gulab Singh replied that the Sikhs had already borne him ill-will enough, and that he would not be supported in measures of coercion. In this there was some truth. He naturally asked the British Cheif to allow him to proceed in his own manner. To this Lawrence agreed and Gulab Singh set out quietly to undermine the opposition of the Sikhs. Knowing the spirit and temper of the Sikh soldiers, he had no difficulty in dissuading them from active hostilities against the British army in Peshawar. If the sikhs had turned against the British at that time the whole expedition would have ended disastroulsy. He pointed out to the Sikh soldiers that it was wiser to lead the British to the Khyber Pass and safely across it : that if they were defeated by the Afghans the property they left at Peshawar would belong to the Sikhs, while if they defeated the enemy the Sikhs could claim that it was through their help that the victory was won.

The Chiefs of the Khalsa army appreciated this wisdom. Gulab Singh was thus free to help to British with provisions and advice, and also to send some of his troops with the British army. At this time news reached him of the debacle that had overtaken Zorawar in Central Tibet. He was naturally much grieved at this loss and sent Dewan Jwals Sahai on the 17th February, 1842, to Lawrence's camp with the request that the news of the disaster should not be made public, as it might cause a mutiny among his own troops. On the 20th February Gulab Singh paid a formal visit to General Pollack. The British commanders were getting tired of the dilatory tactics of Lahore and were determined to use to opportunity to come to some explanation. They received Gulab Singh with full military honours, and after all were scatted Captain Makeson, an officer of 'commanding countenance and stately from uniting the beauideal of the soldier and the diplomatist,' 'advanced through all the

preliminaries of courtesy and the exigencies of the situation to the inevitable climax asking for what purpose had the Sikh army been sent to Peshawar and what orders had been received from Lahore.

The British authorities began to think that something could not be had for nothing, and that unless Gulab Singh received and adequate quid pro quo, no help would be forthcoming. Lawrence had already suggested that a consideration should be offered to him. 'In plain terms, he explained, the troops should be paid extra batta, the Rajahs secured in their territory even with additions. He added that 'if Gulab Singh assists the British efficiently they should assist him to get possession of the Valley of Jalalabad, and endeavor to make some arrangement to secure it and Peshawar to his family. These inducements he did not want. He had his own reasons for rendering whatever help lay in his power. More, he secured the neutrality of the Sikh regiments which at one time were actively hostile to the British. General Pollack was therefore enabled to enter the Khyber Pass on the 5th April, 1842.

The British Government sent an appreciative Kharita, dated 8th April 1842, to Gulab Singh, through Mr. Clerk their agent at Lahore, in which they said that they wrote to him with the pen of love and appreciation. 'We heard from the Chiefs of our army how wisely you planned for the help of our troops and how kindly you rendered this to them... The fruit of the long-sown seed of friendship between us which was concealed for a long time has now come to light.... you who are the flower of the garden of this world.... the most delicious fruit of the tree of hope, we remember your troubles and difficulties in rendering help to out army: we shall never forget that.

The basis of friendship between Henry Law rence and Gulab Singh was thus well and truly laid. The offer of Jalalabad was renewed, but a condition was made by

Lord Ellenborough, the Governor General, that Gulab Singh should give up Ladak and take the Afghan province in its stead. Gulab Singh was too shrewd a man not to see through this proposal. Ladak was in the vicinity of his own territories and could not be attacked either by the British or by the Sikhs. He was thus the uncontrolled master of that area which, though barren, was his own by right of conquest. Jalalabad, on the other hand, was far away from his base and could not be held against an enemy. Naturally, he refused the offer and was content with the friendship of the British.

The Lahore Government again fell into anarchy. Mai Chand Kour died in 1842. Relieved of the fear of usurpation, Sher Singh began to chafe against the authority of Dhyan Singh and sent for the Sindhanwalla sardars, Ajit Singh and Lehna Singh, to Lahore. Sher Singh had no love for the Sindhanwalla chiefs, but he hoped that their influence with the Sikhs would be an effective counterpoise to the influence of Dhyan Singh. but Sher Singh was not the man to follow a consistent policy. He soon alienated his best friends. Lehna Singh was imprisoned, Khushal Singh was not in favour at Court, the Jammu rajahs were greatly in disfavour. The idea that Sher Singh developed was to get hold of Gulab Singh and his brothers and kill all of them at one stroked. So in 1843 Gulab Singh was summoned to Kangra, where Sher Singh was camping at the time. Though he knew the object, Gulab singh did not hesitate. Dhyan Singh, on the other hand, sent Hira Singh to Jasrota and went alone. Suchet Singh remained at Lahore. Failing to get all the brothers together, Sher Singh hesitated to act, treated Gulab Singh well and sent him back to Jammu. In 1843 the marriage of Ranbir Singh to the daughter of Rajah Bijai Singh of Seeba was celebrated with great pump. Ranbir Singh was the third and youngest, and the only surviving, son of Gulab Singh. Gulab Singh married early

in life in 1809 a lady from the Rukwal Rajputs. By this lady he had three sons, Randhir Singh, Sohan Singh, and Ranbir Singh. Randhir Singh, as has been said above, died in company with Nao Nihal Singh as the result of an accident. Sohan Singh died young.

Ranbir Singh, born in 1829 at Ramgarh, was at this time only fourteen years old. As a young boy he was adopted by Rajah Suchet Singh, who had no son of his own. He spent his boyhood mostly at Ramnagar, which was the jagir of Suchet Singh.

The whole family gathered at Jammu-alas! for the last time. Rajah Dyhan singh, the wise statesman and the leading Minister of the Sikh kingdom; Rajah Hira singh, the accomplished courtier and the favourite of Ranjit Singh; Rajah Suchet Singh, reputed to be the most handsome man in the sikh army, and the numerous dependents of each, all came together on the auspicious occasion. Gulab Singh could well claim that he had laid the foundation of the greatness of each one of them all great and powerful men in the world now. He, the eldest, had squrned the life of the capital, and devoted himself entirely to the welfare of the family. He had raised armies, conquered kingdoms, and laid the foundation of a future greatness for his family such as few could claim. The occasion was really one for thanksgiving. As soon as the marriage was over a messenger came from Lahore summoning Dhyan Singh. Against the advice of his brother he went. On his arrival he was received graciously by Sher Singh, but orders had already been issued to have him murdered. Dhyan Singh was advised of this by Sardar Ajit Singh Sindhanwalla. The sardars of Sindhanwalla played a double game in this matter. They hated Sher Singh and planned the fall of the Sovereign and Minister at one stroked. For this purpose they persuaded the Maharajah that Dhyan Singh had determined to destroy him and his safety lay in having

the Minister assassinated first. Sher Singh believed it and authorised the Sindhanwalla chiefs in writing to get rid of Dhyan Singh. Having plotted Dhyan Singh's destruction, Ajit Singh went straight to him and informed him of the conspiracy and advised him to strike the blow first. Ajit Singh, who was reported to be a bosom friend of Sher Singh, was himself conspiring to get rid of Sher Singh. The next day at the review of troops Ajit Singh shot his Sovereign dead. Lehna Singh, at his devotions. After this dastardly action Ajit Singh mounted his horse and galloped towards Lahore with 300 followers.

Dhyan Singh, who was ignorant of the murder, was driving out at what is nor the Badami Bagh when he was met by Ajit Singh and taken to the fort. As they ascended the fort, Ajit Singh, whom the Rajah, who had guessed the details of the tragedy, accused of treason, shot him dead. Thus died Rajah Dhyan Singh, for over fifteen years Prime Minister of the Sikh State. As a statesman he had worked hard and successfully for the maintenance of the independence of the Punjab. He had resisted with all the means in his power the encroachment of the English Agent at Lahore on sikh authority. On one notable occasion he did not even hesitate to advise Sher Singh against a public interview with the Viceroy. Polished and courtly, his personality was such as would have made a mark even in the Court of Shah Jehan or Louis IXV. Of his personal appearance, the following description is given by W. G. Osborne, Military Secretary to Lord Auckland: 'Rajah Dheean Singh is a noble specimen of the human race; rather above the usual height of the natives, with quick and intelligent eyes, high handsome forehead, and aquiline features; dressed in a magnificent helmet and cuirass of polished steel, a present from King Louis Philippe of France, he looked a model of manly beauty and intellignece.

As soon as Dhyan Singh's death was known the partisans of the Jammu Rajahs prepared for war. Hira Singh and Suchet Singh, who were in Lahore, immediately sent round word, and the whole aspect of Lahore changed. It became a city of rival camps. Rajah Hira Singh displayed unexpected calmness of mind on this occasion. He ascended the terrace of General Acitabile's house, and, having seated himself there, sent messages to the several sardars, requesting their immediate attendance. The call was promptly obeyed and the sardars, with their troops, assembled at the foot of Budhuka Awa. Placing himself in front and unsheathing his sword, the young Rajah said: 'You know the traitors have killed our Sovereign, his innocent son, and my brave father, who loved you as much as he loved me. We are deprived of our Sovereign and I am fatherless. I now trust your courage, your patriotism, and your loyalty to our lamented King. Either uphold me firmly or kill me with third sword, as it is better to die with honour than to live in disgrace in the midst of enemies.

The response to this touching speech was immediate. The whole army agreed to follow him. Placing himself at the head of 40,000 troops, Hira Singh marched against the Sindhanwalla chiefs. Suchet Singh joined him in assaulting the fort, which fell into their hands. Ajit Singh met the fate of the murderer, and Lehna Singh also fell in the fight. The head of Ajit Singh was laid at the feet of the widowed rani of Dhyan Singh who, well content, declared: 'I am now fully satisfied,' then she addressed Hira Singh and said: 'I will tell your father that you have acted the part of a brave and dutiful son.' After this she placed her dead husband's kulgee on Hira Singh's head and calmly ascended the pyre as sati.

After this, Suchet Singh and Hira Singh put Dhuleep Singh on the throne, and Hira Singh became Prime Minister. After the situation had settled down Gulab

Singh, who had kept himself out of th intrigues of Lahore, came down from Jammu. He was requested by all to take up the post of Prime Minister. Especially was he pressed by Aziz-ud-Din, the Foreign Minister, who knew that a strong hand would be required to restore order and steer the ship of State through safe chnnels. But Gulab Singh, who knew the conditions at Lahore, refused to be inveigled into the whirlpool of Sikh politics, and returned to Jammu, taking Suchet Singh with him. He, however, left a body of his troops at Shahbara under Dewan Hari Chand, knowing well that Hira Singh might soon require help. In 950 A.D. Kasemagupta became the king of Kashmir. He was licentious and profligate in his habits, and the only important event of his long reign of about quarter of a century was his marriage with Didda. She was the daughter of king Simharaja, "the lord of Lohara," Presently called the valley of Loharin, comprising the mountain districts immediately adjoining Kashmir on the south-west and now included in the Punch district. From her mother's side, she was a grand-daughter of king Bhima Sahi of Udabhanda, whom Alberuni mentions in his list of the "Hindu Shahyas of Kabul" as the successor of Kashmir. Not only did Didda possess lovely looks but also extreme intelligence and shrewdness. Her personality was indeed so captivating that very easily she came to have a completes way over her husband's mind. It was, therefore, not without reason that Ksemagupta was popularly known as Diddaksema. His copper coins also bore the legend "Da-Ksemaguptade (va)," a contraction of the above name. "It is interesting to note that while the coins of the above type are quite common, those bearing the name of Ksemagupta alone are rare." The fact that her powerful maternal grandfather had built the richly endowed temple of Bhimakesava as Bumzu near Mart and, points to the prominent position held by Didda's family also in Kashmir.

Didda's marriage with Ksemagupta was important from yet another view point; it was as a result of this alliance that at a later stage the Lohara family came to rule over Kashmir as well. But Ksemagupta took another wife also soon after. She was Chandralekha, the daughter of Phalguna, formerly the Lord of the Gate but now prime minister. Naturally, the green-eyed monster in Didda could not put up with all this quietly. Towards Phalguna, she began to harbour great ill-will and held him to no account. Only a spark of discord was needed to set their relations ablaze, and this was provided by Ksemagupta's death which took place in 958 A.D.

In accordance with the prevailing custom, the wives of the late king prepared themselves for immolation. Didda's first impulse also was to immolate herself and Phalguna readily approved of it. But when she was heading towards the funeral pyre she had second thoughts. Seeing her in a hesitant mood, Naravahana, a minister, took pity upon her and "prevented her by persistent remonstrances from seeking death." Rakka, another minister, who did not see eye to eye with Phalguna, also turned to his account this opportunity to fen the flames of hatred and discord between her and the prime minister. He put into her ears that Phalguna had agreed to her immolation because afterwards he intended to usurp the throne for himself. There were many more high officials of the State who were jealous of the prime minister as he "outshone them all by counsel, courage, energy and other good qualities." Naturally, the atmosphere around Phalguna became very hostile. He also did not fail to perceive it and thought it advisable to retire from the country with a good grace.

No sooner, therefore had Abhimanyu II, minor son of Ksemagupta, been crowned under regency of Didda than Phalguna, along with many of his trusted followers, left for parnotsa or Poonch. But at the instance of Rakka

and other enemies of the prime minister, the regent sent royal body-guards to bring him back. This fresh insult inflicted upon Phalguna acted like a red rag to a bull. Enraged and excited, he and his followers retraced their steps and it looked as if they were going to attack their enemies. Consequently, so great was the alarm at the capital that Didda and her supporters began to shake in their shoes. But to their good luck, Phalguna changed his mind and, on reaching the shrine of Varaha (modern Baramulla), laid his sword at the feet of the god. Thereafter, he again set out on his journey towards parnotsa. Learning this, "the ministers rejected as boys when left by their teachers."

But the rejoicings proved to be only temporary and transitory for the regent. Mahiman and Patala were the sons of king Pravagupta's (949-50 A.D.) two daughters who were married to two ministers.As they had been brought up like princes in the royal palace itself, they did not consider the throne out of their reach. A conspiracy was actually hatched by them in collaboration with some influential persons to seize power. But the gaff was blown and they were turned out of the palace. Later, an attempt was made to banish them from the country itself. Mahiman then took refuge with his father-in-law, Saktisena. They former's supporters also joined him there and their rebellion soon became formidable. On the side of the regent, with the exception of minister Naravahana and his relatives, almost everybody deserted her. The rebels then gathered for a battle in the vicinity of the Padmasavamin temple in Pampur. Didda was indeed in a real soup. In her long career as the virtual ruler of Kashmir, which extended to almost half a century, she was now for the first time put to a great test of forbearance, fortitude and statesmanship. But she rose equal to the occasion and faced the situation very calmly. It did not take her long to realise that Mahiman's main

strength lay in the support of the Brahman residents of Lalitapura of Litpur, She also discovered that the Brahmans had a great weakness for money. With plenty of gold, therefore, she easily bought them of and with this the rebellion fizzled out. Later, these very Brahamans brought about a reconciliation between her and mahiman. "Reverence to wealth which possesses such wonderful power!" "The lame queen", Says Kalhana, "Whom no one had thought capable of stepping over a cow's footprint got over the ocean-like host of her enemies, just as Hanumat (Hanuman god) got over the ocean".

The rebellion over, the intelligent regent correctly realised the need to with the powerful supporters also of Mahiman. And in this case again she showed how great a judge of the human nature was she. Knowing that for men of integrity "favours were superior even to gold given in bribes", she bestowed high offices upon many of Mahiman's men, making Yasodhara the commander-in-chief of her army. After some time, when mahiman was left without any following of consequence, she got him done to death by witchcraft, according to Kalhana, and then "the rule of the widow became undisputed in the land." But soon another serious trouble cropped up for Didda. According to Kalhana, Yasodhara took upon himself the reduction of a neighbouring hill territory, then ruled over by a Sahi ruler named Thakkana. A scholar links the latter with the royal dynasty of Udabhandapura, and opines that "he may not have been the son of Bhimadeva and may have managed to succeed to the throne with the help of the Gurjara-Pratiharas and this would have been the reason why Didda was encouraged to plan an expedition against Thakkana."Whatever the reason, the Sahi ruler was easily defeated and captured. later, when he paid tribute, Yasodhara reinstated him.

The grant of the high office of commander-in-chief to Yasodhara, who formerly belonged to the enemy camp, had been rankling in the minds of those who had all along been the regent's supporters. His absence from Kashmir on the said expedition provided them with an excellent opportunity to work for his 'downfall." Led by Rakka, they began to din constantly into Didda's cars that Yashodhara was not a sincere and trustworthy man His acceptance of tribute from Thakkana was presented to her as a bribe taken for reinstating the vanquished foe. As a result of these intrigues, Yasodhara fell from grace and when he returned to his country crowned with laurels, he was served with an order of banishment. According to one scholars, however, yasodhara was punished because of his unauthorised conciliatory policy towards the enemy, which "was actually not desired by Didda as there was no certainty of Thakkana's remaining loyal to Kashmir." The regent's hasty and thoughtless action drove Yasodhara to rebellion in 962-63 A.D. and like the earlier rebellion of Mahiman, this one also proved very threatening. At one stage, when the rebellions troops had succeeded in penetrating into the capital city, Didda was left alone in her place. All of her important supporters, with the exception of Narvahana and his few followers, had deserted her. her fate then trembled in the balance and anxiety hung like a dark impenetrable could over her mind. Not a single moment passed when she did not expect an assault upon the palace and her consequent end. But as luck would have it, the enemy frittered away the time, and when it did attack the next day, she had already mustered some forces. Nevertheless, her position was still very weak, with the result that the royal troops were easily beaten in the first encounter. Driven to bay, they made yet another attempt to retrieve their position and luckily it was attended by a partial success. Finally, when the royal

forces where reinforced by the every faithful Naravahana, the tables were completely turned upon the rebels. Yasodhara and some of his supporters were taken prisoners and all of them were mercilessly executed.

The rebellions of Mahiman and Yasodhara convinced Didda that unless the administration was placed in the hands of tested and trusted officials, there could be no peace in the country. A big shake-up was, therefore, planned and therefore, planned and executed. As a result of it, Rakka became the new chief of the army, Sindhu, a son of a litter-carrier, was made incharge of the royal treasury. The services of Naravahana, "the best of minister," were also duly recognised; he was made the chief counsellor and received the title of Rajanaka (literally meaning "almost a king"). Kalhana says the regent queen "slept when he slept, took food when be took it, rejoiced in his joy, and from sympathy felt dejected when he was despondent. When he kept within his house, she was not happy without enquiring about his health, without requesting his advice, and without sending him things of her own."

But Didda failed to stem the rot from spreading. Mutual jealousies and rivalries soon sprang up among the new set of officials too, with the result that the working of the government was again adversely affected. The ascendency of Naravahana, for instance, became a source of constant irritation to some of his colleagues. Sindhu, one of them, therefore, aroused suspicious in Didda's mind about Naravahana, and made her believe that the chief minister was trying to usurp the royal powers. One day, when naravahana invited her to a feast, Sindhu told her that the invitation was a booby trap for making her a prisoner in the minister's house. The constant dripping had worn away the stone. On the advice of his wicked counsellor, the regent, therefore, politely declined the invitation on the pretext of illness.

From then ownwards, naravahana was always under a cloud, and the feelings of affection which had till then existed between her and Naravahana gradually ebbed away, and finally the "intrigues produced between them a thorough estrangement such as there is between sesamum and oil cake." Day in and day out, the ungrateful regent inflicted new insults upon him. The depths of his dismay, despair and dejection, therefore, went on depending till the loyal minister thought of suicide as the only means of his deliverance from the interminable sufferings.

After she thus get rid of Naravahana, Didda resolved to punish the Damras who had been gaining strength for some years in the past. The first to fall a victim to her fury were the sons of Samgrama Damra of Uttaraghosa (the village of Gus in the Uttar Pargana, to the extreme north west of Kamraj). She wanted them to be done to death. But they made their escape to their home place and there killed Kayyaka, the lord of the Gate, and others who opposed them. There was every likelihood of their rebellion turning into a popular rising. The regent also did not fail to recognise this and her own inability to grapple with the situation. Hence, she "disregarded the shame of humilitation" and hastened to heal the breach with the rebels The settlement which followed, however, proved to be short-lived and more Damra Chiefs joined the sons of Samgrama. To add to the difficulties of Didda, Rakka died at this critical juncture. She cast her eyes around for a strong man to replace the decreased, but found none. Then she thought of her old minister, Phalguna, who had earlier left for Punch in disgust. Summons were, therefore, immediately sent to him. Phalguna heartily responded to this call, took charge of the administration and, it appears, suppressed the Damra revolt, for we hear no more of them for some time to come.

After a harvest of success, Didda had every reason to be in-expressibly happy. But it is sad that her happiness took a very undesirable form; she chose the primrose pat. Se was a lady with absolutely no regard for morality. She, "the messalida of Kashmir, was noted for her extraordinary profligacy, rivalling anything that is recorded, of Catherine of Russia." And this is how in the words of Kalhana, she had spent her time immediately after the death of her husband; "The officers, who held charge of foreign affairs, the royal household and other posts visited the queen's bed-chamber without scruples." Now, Phalguna became "The paramour of this dissolute old woman." The foul atmosphère around the court naturally had its repercussions also on the administration of the country, which became lax, corrupt and oppressive. Just a this time died king Abhimanyu. According to Kalhana, his was a natural death," but others suggest that he was poisoned by his mother. In the opinion of one scholar, however, "the former account is most trustworthy, especially as corroborated by the sequal, which represents her as engaged for a year afterwards, in laying the foundations of cities, and pious and public edifices, in order to dispel her grief." But in the light of what she did to Abhimanyu's successors, we have good reasons to suspect her hand in his death. Abhimanyu was quite grown up and possessed "noble character." He was also "brilliant" in intellect, learned, and "cherished by the sons of learned men and versed in the Sastras." Above all, Kalhana clearly informs us that he was disgusted with his "evil-conducted mother", and had even begun to snap his fingers at her. There is, therefore nothing surprising in the regent, imbused with leaping ambition and unbounded lust for power, should have decided to remove him from her path.

Whatever the facts, Didda felt highly grieved, apparently or in reality, over her son's a loss and, after

placing Nandigupta, her grandson, on the throne, she turned over a new leaf and began to perform "astonishing deeds of piety". In her new ways of life she was further encouraged and helped by Bhuyya, the city perfect who was himself a pious man and a brother of Sindhu. The main attention of the reformed lady was, however, devoted to the laying of a number of foundations, especially temples, Mathas, Viharas and towns; and the more important among these were the Visnu temple of Diddasvamin, the towns of Diddapura (location unknown) and Kankanapura (perhaps modern Kangan village, on the right bank of the Sindh), and Didda Matha which has left its memory in the name of Diddamar, now a residential locality in Srinagar, on the right bank of the Jhelum. In all, it is said, "she made sixty-four foundations in different localities," and "Enclosed with stone walls almost all the temples, the surrounding wal's of which had been burned down."

The building of Viharas by Didda shown that Buddhism had not only survived a least until the eleventh century but also continued to receive royal patronage. There is, however, no doubt that it had already lost its mass appeal. A bronze statue of Bodhistava Padmapani, with six arms, having dhayani budha Amitabha his spiritual ego on his head an two goddesses-Tara and brikuti-on his either side, has been discovered. Made in Didda's time, it is "a conspicuous example of decayed Buddhism." and "tells the struggle of Buddhists to survive against engulphing Brahmanism and Shaktism." The devotional mood of the regent queen, which has seized her heart at the death of her son, and which had raised her in the estimation of her subjects, was however, only pious fraud; and hardly a year had passed when she returned to her usual ways of life. "That unfaithful woman," says Kalhana, "lasting for pleasures," killed her grandson, Nandi gupta, in 973 A.D.

by witchcraft. In a similar ar manner, she also disposed of king Tribhuvana, her another grandson. There then remained her last little grandson, Bhimagupta, and she put him "without hesitation" "on that path of death, which bore the name throne."

Not long after, the prime minister Phalguna died. He had been exercising some restraining influence on the old lady. With his death also disappeared all bars of restraint on her and she began to commit, "hundredfold excesses by open misconduct, infuriated just as female elephant in rut which has torn off its face-covering."

It was in such a mood of beer and skittles that Didda met Tunga. He was a Khasa herdsman who originally belonged to a village in Parnotsa of Punch. Coming to Kashmir, along with his five brothers, he got his foot on the ladder of success when he secured the job of a royal courier. In that capacity, once he appeared before the regent and won her heart at the first sight. "She had the youth brought up secretly by a messanger, and took, as a fate willed, an affection for him, though she had already many paramours." Her infatuation for the man gradually became so intense that she, 'who knew no shame," poisoned Bhuyya,the city perfect, to death for voicing remonstration against her conduct. Surely, "Didda was unorthodox and unconventional in certain respects," and "unmindful of calumny and undaunted by opposition, she carried on her amorous affair!" The things then came to such a pass that for their easy advancement, even ministers and other leading men of the country began to act as procurers for her. After four or five years of nominal rule, Bhimagupta "became a little more developed in intellect, and recognised in his mind that the affairs of the kingdom and his grandmother's way of living were not right..." He, therefore, wished to effect some reforms. But Didda would not naturally allow him do that. Hence, she

openly imprisoned him and subsequently tortured him to death. Having thus made a clean sweep of all possible male candidates for the throne, she herself assumed the royal powers in 980 A.D.

The rule of Didda as a full-fliedged sovereign lasted for about another quarter of a century. But it was Tunga and not the queen who played the first fiddle in State matters during this period. He and his brothers now filled all the key posts, Tunga himself becoming the prime minister. This fact naturally bred discontentment and disaffection among the old officials, particularly those who has been ousted. As a result, repeated attempts were made to dislodge Tunga. But each time, his valour and Didda's cunning diplomacy wiped the floor.

In the first instance, some of the disgruntled officials hatched a conspiracy against the ruling clique, and invited price Vigraharaja of Lohara to invade Kashmir. The prince who was the son of Didda's brother, did come, but realised the futillty of an open contest with his rivals. He, therefore, took to diplomacy. In ancient times, if the Brahmans went on a hunger strike in protest against some action of the government, it was considered a very serious matter which could even bring about the downfall of the government. Vigraharaja decided to make use of this weapon and, accordingly, with the help of his local supporters, induced the Brahmans of the chief Agraharas to hold a protest fast against Didda's government. The common people, who were fed up with the corrupt and oppressive administration, also rose on this occasion. Their chief target was, however, not the queen but Tunga whom they wanted to seize and kill.

These developments put Didda on her mettle. Her first anxiety was the safety of her lover. So, she hid him in an apartment of her place. Next, she tried to break the

Brahman's fast and easily squared them by offering handsome bribes. Thus were countered Vigraharaja's intrigues and he was compelled to retrace his steps to Lohara. Then followed Tunga's revenge and the punishments of either death or exile were freely inflicted upon the enemies. But before Vighraharaja finally gave up his designs on Kashmir, he made yet another attempt to foment trouble here through his secret agents. The latter persuaded some of the local Brahmans to go once more on a hunger strike. But Tunga found no difficulty in winning over the strikers by the use of silver key. The Lohara agents also were found out. When they tried to get off, one of them was killed while another was captured and case into prison. Tunga made use of this opportunity to bring to account those Brahmans also who had earlier resorted to a fast and obtained money from Didda for abandoning it. Many of them were put behind bars.

Tunga was next called upon to deal with a refractory feudatory. Earlier Phalguna had reduced Rajapuri or Rajouri. But now its ruler, Prithvipala, finding Kashmir in a distracted state, declared his independence. To punish him. Didda sent a large force from kashmir. This force was, however, divided into two sections and each followed a different route. Knowing nothing about the Kashmir strategem, Prithvipala marched at the head of his whole army, came face to face with one section of the invaders in a defile, and easily put them to route. But in the meantime, the other section of the Kashmir army, led by tunga himself and his brothers, entered the town of rajouri without any resistance. It put the town to fire and then, through a surprise attack, made a matchwood of Prithvipala's force and compelled him to pay tribute. Tunga's pluck and dash thus brought him a grand victory and when he returned to his country, the grateful queen made him the chief of the army. He was already

the prime minister. The new conferment therefore, made him the most powerful grandee in State.

The closing years of Didda's rule were disturbed by a rising of the Damras. This too was suppressed by Tunga "with the courage of a lion" and many of them were put to the sword. Before the queen went to her long last sleep in 1003 A.D. she had nominated Samgramaraja, son of Udyaraja, her brother and the ruler of Lohara, to succeed her. She made his selection from among her numerous little nephews after putting them through their paces. All of them were assembled at a place, a heap of apples was thrown before them, and it was announced that whoever gathered the maximum number of these would be made the heir-apparent. Not only did Samgramaraja emerge successful, but to the great surprise of all the onlookers, he was also unhurt in the scramble while every one of his rivals sustained some injury. Thus we see that Didda's masterful personality dominated the politics of Kashmir for nearly half a century, first as the chief queen of Ksemagupta, next as the regent of her son and grandsons, and finally as an independent queen. It has rightly been said that she was "a remarkable woman in many ways." She was a beautiful lady, with charming features but one physical defect-she was lame. But her physical handicap did not deter her from playing contain games for which she had a great fondness; on such occasions she was carried about on others' back. She was also courageous, self willed and full of determination. Never did she loose heart; she kept her nerves even during the most trying times. She was not only intelligent but also shrewd and a good judge of the human nature. It was only for a brief period that she showed a religious bent of mind, otherwise most of her time was spent in cruel, ruthless and unscrupulous deeds and detestable vices. She was uncommenly voluptuous, profligate and dissolute. Her lust for power was also

limitless and so was the case with here suspicious nature. There is, therefore, nothing surprising if her rule was characterised by "petty politics, intrigue, treachery, cruelty, debauchery and murder." She "misgoverned the unhappy for half a century." But it shall have to be conceded at the same time that while in the subsequent history of Kashmir we come across many rulers who were no less guilty of moral and other lapses, there was none as competent and able ad Didda was. In spite of her all shortcomings, she was able to ward off trouble which appeared again and again, and maintained the autocratic hold over the country unimpaired for an unusually long period. This shows that she was gifted with high political and diplomatic talents. Her ability as a statesman of high order is further attested to by her peaceful and undisputed transfer of power to a new dynasty of Samgramaraja-the Lohara dynasty.

APPENDIX

On July 15, a set of 18 letters written by Mahatma Gandhi, dealing with the themes of Hindu-Muslim unity and nonviolence, were purchased for the nation when they were auctioned by Sotheby's in London. The letters were written between 1918 and 1924, at the time of the Khilafat movement, to Maulana Abdul Bari, an Islamic scholar and founder of the Jamiat-e-Ulemai-e-Hind. A good part of the correspondence deals with plans for joint Hindu-Muslim demonstrations in support of the movement. The Ali brothers, Shaukat Ali and Mohammed Ali, who led the Khilafat movement along with Gandhiji, were the Maulana's disciples.

The collection also contains four letters in Urdu, some of which are in the original and some are copies, from Motilal Nehru to Maulana Bari, as well as two letters from Jawaharlal Nehru to the Maulana.

While five of Gandhiji's letters in the collection were in his own hand, several others were written by his secretaries and signed by him. Some letters were written and signed on Gandhiji's behalf by his secretaries. Several of the letters have also been translated into Urdu, either for or by Maulana Bari.

The letters were put up for auction by the Maulana's descendants settled in the United Kingdom. As on previous occasions when letters by the Mahatma were put up for sale, the Indian Government was anxious to acquire them and add them to the existing collections of Gandhiji's correspondence in various museums and archives. However, the Government was unwilling and unable to purchase them directly. An outright purchase by the Government was not feasible as it involved administrative questions such as where the funds should come from. Besides, officials were concerned that if the Government made it known that it was willing to buy all correspondence by Gandhiji, then hordes of other Gandhi letters would come into the market at inflated prices.

The problem of acquiring the set of letters and bringing them to India without direct government involvement was solved by Dr. L.M. Singhvi, India's former Indian High Commissioner in the U.K. Singhvi, who was present in London, used his contacts with nonresident Indian businesspersons and raised the funds for the purchase from two millionaires, G.K. Noon and Nat Puri. Apart from the bidder who acted on behalf of Singhvi, there was one more bidder. Although Sotheby's had suggested a price between £10,000 and £15,000 the competitive bidding raised the price to £118,000.

Singhvi is a veteran in the purchase of Gandhi letters and memorabilia. He was involved in earlier purchases of a letter written by Gandhiji on the subject of *khadi* and a copy *of Bhagvad Gita* that belonged to the

Mahatma. Two years ago Singhvi was involved in the prevention of the sale of a collection of drafts of letters written by the Mahatma, which were in the possession of one of his secretaries, V. Kalyanam. This was done after doubts were cast on the i legal right of the secretary to sell the drafts. That collection was eventually handed over to the Indian Government and is now with the Nehru Memorial Museum and Library, New Delhi.

In the present case, there are no doubts about the legality of the sale. The sellers were the descendants of the Maulana, to whom the letters had been addressed, and had tide to the letters. As Dr. Peter Beale, an expert at Sotheby's, said, the sale that was attempted two years ago related to the drafts of letters that had been retained by someone who had no clear tide; this time, the sale related to letters that had been sent by post to a recipient, whose family members were now selling them, as they had a right to do so.

Interestingly, while the recipient of such letters from the Mahatma have the right of ownership to the letters, the copyright for all such letters rests with' the Navjivan Trust in Ahmedabad. Under the terms of Gandhiji's will, the copyright for all his written works, published and unpublished, went to the Trust which he founded. This means that owners of letters or anything else written by Gandhiji cannot reproduce them for monetary benefit.

Singhvi said that the letters would probably be given to the Nehru Memorial Museum in New Delhi to be added to its collection of Gandhiji's correspondence. The letters were in poor condition and needed expert archival care if they were to last, he added.

The letters deal with Gandhiji's attempts to build a common Hindu-Muslim front through the Khilafat movement. They also reveal the Mahatma's disappointment in the failure of his ideal of nonviolence

to take root. In one letter written in 1922 after Gandhiji forced to call off the civil disobedience movement when it degenerated into violence, he writes: "I am disappointed because I have come away (from Delhi with a majority that has no faith even the policy of nonviolence ... I feel toughly helpless ... that our opponents magnified our violence and terrorised is only too true, but we expected no more from them, and no less. Hindus are as Mussalmans, but unfortunately as both are weak our policy depends on he cooperation of both..."

He goes on to say: "I am clear that aggressive activity must be stopped. Our ranks must be purged of all undesirable elements. If really as a result of our experience we have come to the conclusion that it is impossible to control the mass violence to convince the majority of our country men of the necessity of remaining non-violent, we may revise our programme, but would be suicidal to delude ourselves into the belief that we are following the policy, of nonviolence when we are not."

He asks the Maulana for suggest tolls C ways to re-establish a non-violent programme. "Please think over the matter a let me know what can be done. If we a re-establish a nonviolent atmosphere v must be able to work out the constructive~ programme laid down."

In other letters, Gandhiji discusses his plans for civil disobedience, and his various travels to settle disputes, such as a visit to Hoshangabad to settle a "cow sacrifice dispute". In one letter written in 192 1, he asks the Maulana to come to Bombay (Mumbai) to help quell the rioting that ha~ broken out. "Crowds (are) out of control (and) internal strife (is) proceeding," E writes. In a letter from jail, Gandhiji writes that he was "enjoying himself' in "this abode of freedom".

He also suggests that the road to Hindu-Muslim unity is through the spinning of *khaddar.* "I have come to the conclusion that the only conclusive demonstration of Hindu-Muslim unity is the universal adoption by them of the spinning wheel ... *Khaddar* cannot become unoversal without both the great community,' taking it up .... from the very commencement of the struggle we have been wanting boycott of foreign cloth... For me the spinning wheel and *Khaddar* have a deep religious significance because it means Hind and Muslim sympathy for the poor people who are dying today from hunger and cli ease. The *Khaddar* programme is therefore the greatest and surest I can foresee to the country."

3

Flashpoint Kashmir

Reflecting the geopolitical realities after Pokhran-II, guns blaze along the Line of Control in Kashmir maing the worst round of skirmishes since the 1971 war. A fortnight's thunder of artillery across the Line of Control (LoC) subsided in early August, leaving over 50 persons dead on the Indian side of the border and perhaps twice as many in Pakistan. The shelling was the worst since the war of 1971. Most of the casualties were civilian, and artillery fire hit populated areas up to 30 km into the Indian side of the LoC.

The intensity of the exchange, and the fact that it was timed to coincide with a meeting in Colombo between Prime Ministers Nawaz Sharif and Atal Behari Vajpayee, make it clear that Pakistan is determined to force international intervention in its dispute with India. That prospect appears unlikely, but the fact remains that India has never been as bereft as it is now of space for manoeuvre. The Bharatiya Janata Party-led coalition Government has no one to blame but itself for this predicament. The latest round of shelling, it is evident, is just one skirmish in a larger war set in place by India's nuclear tests at Pokhran: a war that could have profound consequences for India's position in Jammu and Kashmir.

Not many people paid much attention to the beginning of the exchanges on the LoC on June 25. Such fire is routine through the summer months, when

Pakistani forward posts have year after year used fire to aid groups of infiltrating terrorists to cross into India. The first shells fell in the Teetwal and Keran sectors of Kupwara district late that night, killing two civilians. Small arms fire was traded in the Samba and Ranbir Singh Pora areas, but without leaving any casualties. Similar incidents had taken place through the month, with an Army Colonel, P.B. Gole, losing his life in shelling on July 19. Twelve others had also lost their life in cross-LoC firefights when Indian villages and forward posts had been targeted in a significant way on July 3, 5, 12 and 15. By July 27, with Sharif and Vajpayee due to meet in just two days' time, the shelling escalated. Two shells hit Kargil, leading to a mass exodus from the town where Pakistani fire had killed 23 people last October. The next day, Pakistani troops fired over 50 rounds at positions in Kargil, killing one Army jawan and injuring six civilians.

Three successive days of shelling and fire was unprecedented, all the more so because they coincided with the meetings of both countries heads of government. "It was evident to me," says the General Officer Commanding of the Army's 15 Corps, Lieutenant-General Krishan Pal, "that they were deliberately provoking us to react." He added: "The fire was unusually heavy and persistent, but I wasn't going to give them the pleasure of responding in they way they wanted me to."

In the event, the meeting between Sharif and Vajpayee was, by most accounts, of little import. Although both sides agreed that their Foreign Secretaries would meet to discuss how further dialogue might take place, and what might be discussed during meetings, Sharif made clear in an interview that he expected little from this process. Pakistani officials, who had been pointing to the firefights on the LoC as evidence of a

deteriorating ground situation in Kashmir, at this point evidently decided to raise the stakes.

As Foreign Secretaries Samshad Ahmad and K. Raghunath engaged in their fore-told-to-fail talks on the morning of June 30, a very different kind of dialogue was under way on the LoC. That morning, the Pakistan Army dramatically raised the stakes. An estimated 1,090 rounds of artillery were fired at Indian positions and civilian habitations, along with 5 10 rounds of mortar. Three antitank missiles, with ranges between 3.7 km and 4 kin, were also fired at Indian military vehicles but missed the targets. Although officials at 9 Corps did not make available details of Indian retaliation, Pakistani television and newspapers showed that civilian locations on their side of the LoC had also suffered considerable losses. What is clear is that Indian retaliation was considerably more severe from July 30 than it had been over the previous three days, though Lt.-Gen. Krishan Pal told *Frontline* that his troops had been ordered only to respond "shell for shell, calibre for calibre."

The Foreign Secretary-level talks collapsed on July 31. In a blunt statement, Indian officials described Pakistan's "Obsessive focus" on Kashmir as "neurotic", while Pakistan in turn blamed the crisis on India's "rigid and inflexible stand."

Artillery fire on the border mirrored this sharp deterioration in the talks. Pakistani artillery fire almost doubled, with 1,983 being fired, along with 750 mortar shells and six antitank missiles. By evening, 24 people had been killed, including seven soldiers, and over 41 people had been wounded. The intended purpose of the heightened shelling was to impress on the world the seriousness of the situation on the LoC, and at least to some extent Pakistan achieved its objectives. United States Ambassador Richard Celeste claimed that India and Pakistan were "closer to a war than the Soviet Union

and United States ever were" during the Cold War. "India and Pakistan have weapons within minutes (sic) of each other's capitals and there is firing almost every day on the LoC in Kashmir," Celeste told his audience.

Presumably encouraged by this display of interest, the shelling intensified, reaching a peak on August 1. Within Kashmir, thousands of villagers and nomadic Gujjar shepherds fled the areas from Uri, Bandipore, Tangdhar and Keran. "We tried hiding out in nullahs and inside the jungles," Sikandar Khan, a shepherd, said. "But it became impossible to survive." "Homes and schools were being hit everywhere, and going out had become impossible. Our herds also scattered when shells fell nearby, threatening our survival. In the end, we had to run away." Impromptu refugee camps, run by the Army and the State administration, sprang up at Baramulla, Bandipore, Koregbal and Dawar, with villagers using schools, hospital, and government buildings for shelter. Conditions were generally abysmal. Akhtar Bi and her four small children, for instance, were stuck in Baramulla with no news of her missing husband's fate, dependent on Army handouts for food and shelter.

Many of the refugees had to flee leaving behind standing apricot crops, with newspaper reports suggesting that over 50,000 packed boxes were rotting in Uri town because of suspension of traffic owing to shelling. Stories of tragedy were common. Arab Jan, hit by splinters in Uri's Salamabad village, died leaving behind a four-year-old son, Shafat, himself injured by the 105 mm field gun shell that killed his mother. Her husband, Mohammad Rashid, however, was unable to cremate Arab Jan, simply because shelling was too intense to allow any sort 7 public gathering to take place. At Nambla village, villagers fled after 15 buildings, including the high school building and a panchayat

property, were destroyed. "We've always had some shells landing in the hills around this area," said Manzoor Ahmad of Bayari village, "but I've never seen shelling as horrible as this." "Not a single window pane in our village is intact. We are all afraid that this is just the beginning, and that worse is to follow."

Pakistan's objective in escalating tensions are obvious. Hit hard by the economic sanctions imposed in the wake of its nuclear tests at Chagai, and finding it impossible to sustain its terrorist campaign in Jammu and Kashmir, the Nawaz Sharif Government clearly needs international intervention to sustain its political position on Jammu and Kashmir. The BJP Government's mindless decision to carry out nuclear tests at Pokhran, and its even more mindless decision to link that decision with the future of Jammu and Kashmir, have offered the Pakistan Government precisely the space it needs.

With the breakdown of bilateral' talks in Colombo, and the wilful escalation of tension along the LoC, Pakistan can, and has been, arguing that a dangerous conflagration is imminent on the subcontinent, and also that international intervention is the sole prospect of preventing one. Both the U.S. and the United Kingdom have not so far gone beyond reiterating their willingness to mediate, but have not so far insisted that India accede to this demand.

Just how long this limited consolation will exist is unclear. For one, India's own position has been deeply compromised by Union Home Minister L.K. Advani's statements in May establishing a linkage between the Pokhran tests and the future of Jammu and Kashmir. Advani argued that India's "decisive step to become a nuclear weapon state has brought about a qualitative new state in India-Pakistan relations, particularly in finding a lasting solution to the Kashmir problem."

"Islamabad," he said, "has to realise the change in the geo-strategic situation in the region and the world."

This not-so-subtle blackmail provoked a strong response. A Pakistan Government press release asserted that any Indian "misadventure" would invite a "swift and telling reply." U.S. State Department spokesman James Rubin, for his part, said that India was "foolishly and dangerously increasing tensions with its neighbours, and is indifferent to world opinion." "We call upon India to exercise great caution in its statements and actions at this particularly sensitive time, with emotions running high."

More critically, India now has few options left in dealing with Pakistani intransigence on Jammu and Kashmir, or elsewhere. Escalation of tensions on the LoC, now involving two nuclear powers, will invariably invite international attention on Kashmir, restricting India's options of a punitive conventional military retaliation to Pakistani provocation. Byway of example, suggests a senior intelligence official, "one of the key proofs of strong Pakistani control over terrorism in Jammu and Kashmir was that although heavy anti-aircraft weapons had been brought in, they were never used against military and civilian targets. This was because they knew such attacks would provoke a severe conventional retaliation, and raise the stakes to a dangerous level. Now, they could just carry out such attacks, because nuclearisation and its aftermath has forced us to raise our threshold of tolerance." *De facto* internationalisation of the Kashmir issue could in turn subvert other key elements of India's core policies. The U.S., in particular, could exert pressure on India's Kashmir policy to secure concessions on its core concerns, including the Comprehensive Test Ban Treaty.

The closing of India's strategic choices in Kashmir could not have come at a worse time, given

developments within the State. That Chief Minister Farooq Abdullah's first public action on returning to the State after a holiday with his family in the U.K. was to inaugurate a cinema is symptomatic of the malaise that has gripped the Jammu and Kashmir administration. The importance vested by Abdullah in the Broadway Theatre is unlikely to have been comprehensible to the estimated 10,000 families displaced by firing, whom he did not find time to visit.

Similarly, while nobody would grudge the Chief Minister spending time with his family, there has been no cogent explanation of why he could not interrupt or reschedule his holiday so he could engage with one of the worst periods of violence the State has seen in recent years. Corruption, poor administration and an unfocussed security policy threaten to undo the goodwill expressed in the elections of 1996, and have created an atmosphere of discontent which international uncertainty is adding to.

Perhaps the sole reason for comfort within India is that over the next three months the snows will fall on the high passes across the LoC, silencing forward artillery posts and halting terrorist infiltration. But when the passes open again next spring, it will become clear whether any meaningful introspection on this summer's events has taken place or not. Among the major issues will be plans to use helicopters for military and police commando anti-terrorist operations in Doda, a move that could lead to retaliatory attacks on aircraft by insurgents and unpredictable military consequences. Just how the Union Government and the State Government intend to contain terrorist attacks on minorities in the Doda belt, and check the communalisation of the Jammu region, will also become apparent.

Most important of all, the Union Government will have to shape a cogent agenda to address the crisis it has

created with its post-Pokhran street-corner machismo. Sadly, few entities in the BJP coalition believe there is a problem that needs to be dealt with in the first place, making it near certain that its Kashmir policy will consist largely of hawkish posturing, and in time, complete capitulation.

Appendices

A few minutes past 3 a.m. on August 9, a group of unmarked police vehicles rotted up around an inconspicuous house in Srinagar's old city, their engines turned off and headlights switched off. The silence was broken soon by loudspeaker announcements asking those inside the house to come out. These orders were met with assault rifle fire and grenades. Jammu and Kashmir Police Special Operations Group (SOG) commandos and Central Reserve Police Force (CRPF) personnel returned fire, pinning down those who were launching an assault on them from behind the second floor windows. One commando group broke down the front door and brought out a woman and three children. A second group proceeded upstairs. Within a few minutes, one of the most important police operations in ten years of insurgency was complete Hizbul Mujahideen chief Ali Mohammad Dar, his aide Ali Mohammad Bhatt and long-standing bodyguard Tauseef Ahmad, lay dead.

Ali Mohammad Dar, a long-standing jamaat-e-Islami *rukun* (member) and a police constable until 1991, was a key figure in sustaining terrorism in Jammu and Kashmir. Dar, who was tile acting chief of the large terrorist organisation, was technically second only to the Hizb's Pakistan-based Syed Salahuddin, whose position has, in recent years, been largely symbolic. Dar, who preferred to use his theatrical alias, Burhanuddin Hijazi, returned to India on April 27, 1997, after almost the entire field command of the Hizbul Mujahideen was

killed. Joint operations by the SOG and the Intelligence Bureau had led to the elimination of top terrorists Firdaus Kirmani, Manzoor Khan and Naseebuddin Gazi in March 1997. SOG officials quickly learnt that Dar had returned and that he was operating under a new alias, Rafiuddin Ghazi. Two Hizbul Mujahideen wireless sets operating intermittently in central Srinagar carried orders under other code names 'Khursheed" 'Daud', and most frequently, 'Junaid'.

In its search for 'Junaid', the SOG made two vital breakthroughs in recent weeks. Last month, SOG troopers arrested Abdul Latif Bhatt, a journalist working for Afaaq, a Srinagar newspaper. A powerful wireless set recovered from Bhatt turned out to be the principal Hizbul Mujahideen transmitter in Srinagar. The journalist had been operating this under the aliases of 'Muzammil', 'Idris' and 'Mudassir'. Bhatt's arrest recently led the SOG to Abdul Rauf Trambu, the Hizbul Mujahideen's finance chief. SOG undercover operatives then traced the Hizbul Mujahideen chief and his bodyguard to a home that his key aide Ali Mohammad Bhatt had bought recently. Bhatt was living there with his family (his wife and children were the people the commandos brought out of the house to safety).

The raid that put an end to Dar's career in terror was carried out by 20 SOG personnel and two platoons of the CRPF, led by Srinagar's Superintendent of Police (Operations), Manohar Singh. Manohar Singh, an SOG veteran, joined the group shortly after it was set up by his predecessor in office, Farooq Khan.

Dar's diary, recovered after the raid, has provided insights into the state of play in the Hizbul Mujahideen. It makes a mention of persistent differences within the jamaat-e-Islami between the Hurriyat Conference's chairman Syed Ali Geelani and Amir-e-Jamaat or supreme head G.M. Bhatt. It states that the latter's

advocacy of peace has led the organisation's cadres increasingly to dissociate themselves from the Hizbul Mujahideen. Strategically, the diary records the problems encountered in bringing weapons across the Line of Control (LoC) and sketches the possibility of using the relatively more porous Rajasthan and Gujarat borders with the likely assistance of mafia baron Dawood Ibrahim's apparatus. Another section deals with the organisation's requirements for terrorist operations in Doda and adjoining Chamba. Manohar Singh said: "There are also records of the Hizbul Mujahideen's financial dealings in Kashmir, which were worth some Rs.80 lakhs a month. We will be investigating these entries and whether they are connected with the hawala cases against Hurriyat leaders."

This evidence of pressure on the Hizbul Mujahideen casts interesting light on the Hurriyat Conference's recent problems. Evidently anticipating immediate intervention, the organisation responded with delight to the fact that the international community's attention was again on Kashmir following the nuclear tests. This anticipation obviously emerged from the realisation that terrorist groups in the Kashmir Valley could no longer act to affirm the Hurriyat's relevance and authority. The Hurriyat leaders, who have been conducting largely ineffective and peripheral agitational programmes in recent months, fear that Pakistan may be forced to abandon them to their fate. This perception is shared by other secessionist groups, including the Jammu and Kashmir Liberation Front's Amanullah Khan faction, which has been lobbying vigorously on the nuclear issue in the United Kingdom. The faction recently warned that if Pakistan gave in to pressure from the United States and signed the Comprehensive Test Ban Treaty, it would mean the virtual consigning of the conflict in Kashmir to the dustbin.

Meanwhile, New Delhi's Bharatiya Janata Party-led coalition Government and the National Conference in Srinagar have claimed that Dar's elimination was an outcome of their "proactive" policies. The ironies will be evident to all those who are familiar with policing in Jammu and Kashmir. Requests by the Jammu and Kashmir Police for more personnel and weapons have met with little response from either the State Government or the Central Government. Four senior SOG officers who were instrumental in fighting terrorism were recently denied promotions by the State Government, while dozens of recommendations for police valour medals, including one for Manohar Singh, lie mouldering in the Union Ministry of Home. Whether the SOG's success will now result in a more serious approach by the bureaucracy and the Government remains to be seen.

* * *

Interview with Lieutenant-General Krishan Pal

General Officer Commanding of the Army's 15 Corps, with its headquarters in Srinagar, and *ex-officio* Security Adviser to the Government of Jammu and Kashmir, has been on the front line in the military showdown along the Line of Control.

Why has there been a greater level of firing across the LoC than is routine at this time of the year?

> Pakistan is desperate because we have destroyed terrorism in the Kashmir Valley. First, the terrorists present in Kashmir are unable to strike; the evidence of this is clear. Although they banned the Amarnath Yatra, we ensured that the terrorists were unable to bring off any action even for effect, like firing from a

distance with machine guns or shooting off rockets. The mercenaries whom Pakistan has sent in are hiding on mountain heights, passing time until their two-year tenure here is complete and they can return to collect the remainder of their payments. Second, we have had conspicuous successes in checking infiltration, and have been inflicting heavy losses on groups which have tried to enter through the Kupwara sector, for example. So, having failed in their attempt to gain Jammu and Kashmir by means of sponsoring an insurgency, they now hope to secure their goals by bringing about international political intervention. That is why they are attempting to create a warlike situation along the LoC.

Just how serious has the firing been? And what has been the nature of your response?

The firing has undoubtedly been considerably heavier than in the past. Pakistan has viciously targeted civilian areas, up to 30-40 km inside the LoC. You have been to the LoC and seen how they have deliberately fired on homes, schools and civil buildings without any military facilities nearby. They believed this would push us into an intemperate military response. But the only result has been that the people of Jammu and Kashmir have seen just how much Pakistan cares for them! They will never forgive Pakistan for the destruction it has caused here.

But Pakistan television, as well as some international publications, have been showing pictures of considerable civilian damage on the Pakistan side as well.

Look, when you have artillery exchanges, some collateral damage will be there. It is very tragic, but unfortunately there is no way to avoid this when we

are confronted with blatant aggression from the Pakistan side. In Pakistan's case, civilian casualties are high because Pakistan deliberately positions its guns in the middle of populated areas. Chakoti is one example, and there are many other similar villages. If they want to protect civilian lives, then they should do as we do, and position their artillery well away from places where civilians live and work, instead of hiding behind innocent people. I want to make clear that I have not even used 40 per cent of my firepower, and I *mean* 40 per cent of my firepower, against the Pakistanis. If had done so, the other side would have been obliterated. We knew what they were trying to do, and despite taking casualties, have exercised the utmost restraint. We have matched them round for round, calibre for calibre.

What do you make of the future? In the past, heavy firing has often been a cover for infiltration. Do you see an escalation of violence within the Kashmir Valley as being imminent? There *are also rumours that heavier weapons may be used by terrorists in the future.*

There will undoubtedly have been infiltration during this period, as sending out patrols and setting up ambushes becomes next to impossible when there is such heavy shelling. But as I told you, the mercenaries Pakistan is sending in are not interested in getting killed. The minute they establish themselves in inhabited areas, local people tell us of their presence, and we eliminate them. So all they are interested in doing is hiding out and staying alive until it is time to go back. But we are chasing them on the heights, and have succeeded in destroying a large number of their hideouts and inflicting heavy casualties. As for weapons, what heavier weapons are there than those they have already used?

> Soon the passes will close on the heights, and we will renew our offensive. I will have three additional brigades in operation soon, which will become available after the end of the Amarnath Yatra. We will be able to destroy the terrorists in the Valley. Pakistan's game has failed, and the sooner they accept this fact, the better it will be for both them and us.

4

Unsuccessful Strategy

A Strange stillness prevails in Srinagar. The city appears untouched by the summer thunder of artillery along the Line of Control (LoC) and the gun battles between security forces and insurgents in the forests of Kupwara. Tens of thousands of pilgrims attended nightlong prayers at the Hazratbal shrine to mark the birth anniversary of Prophe. Mohammad on June 7, number unknown through Jammu and Kashmir's decade of carnage. Over 2,500 tourists are estimated to have visited the Kashmir Valley this year, and each weekend, massive crowds of holidayers gather at the Gulmarg cable car base, and the Shalimar and Nishat gardens. "Last week," noted a police official wryly, "we had the first drunken brawl in Srinagar since the trouble began. I suppose that is what you might call normalcy."

But this is a calm that it will take very little to shatter. International pressure on India in the wake of the Pokhran-II tests have opened space both for secessionist political formations, notably the All Party Hurriyat Conference (APHC), and for terrorist groups. If the massing in Jammu of mercenaries imported from fundamentalist institutions throughout Pakistan predated the Pokhran tests, there are signs that Pakistan intends to escalate tensions further this autumn. Equally dangerous for the National Conference Government, a financial crisis, widespread allegations of corruption and an

evident administrative collapse have contributed to a resurgence of legitimate Opposition forces. Chief Minister Farooq Abdullah's embrace of the Bharatiya Janata Party-led coalition government at the Centre has led to an erosion of the National Conference's core ideological platforms: autonomy for the State, the revival of development and the bringing about of peace.

The Abdullah Government's ideologues point to the State's dependence on New Delhi to legitimise their support for the BJP-led Government. As the recent emergency bailout of the State's finances by the Union Government illustrated, Jammu and Kashmir's future is contingent on New Delhi's munificence. By early June, almost A infrastructure and public works in the State had come to a halt because the State Government did not have the funds to meet its debts. Unpaid bills of Rs.591 crores had reportedly piled up at the State treasury, and the Jammu and Kashmir Bank, of which the State Government is the major shareholder, refused to extend further credit after the legally mandated overdraft of Rs.545 crores was stretched to almost twice that amount. Sources told that there was a serious risk that the State would have to default on salaries, which, in the wake of the implementation of the Fifth Pay Commission's recommendations, would cost the State Government Rs.300 crores a year in addition to a years of Rs. 120 crores.

A series of increasingly desperate appeals for aid finally brought the Jammu and Kashmir Government an on account release of Rs.250 crores, pending an eventual settlement of the State's demands with the Union Finance Ministry and the Planning Commission.

State Government officials argue that the roots of the crisis lie in the fact that the State has been left to meet its growing burden of security expenditure unaided. Since

the rise of terrorism in 1989, State officials say, the Union Government has reimbursed Rs.887.30 crores of Rs. 1,684 crores spent on security. The reimbursement of the remainder would help reduce the State's deficit, which is expected to rise from Rs. 1, 143 crores this March to Rs. 1, 544 crores next year. The quantum of Central loans quadrupled from Rs.554 crores in 198081 to Rs.2,250 crores in 199798, and their servicing burden as a percentage of outstandings rose from 10 per cent to 19 per cent over the period. Given the near-collapse of key industries such as tourism and the devastation of its infrastructure, Jammu and Kashmir's case for special assistance is clearly strong.

Yet, if the *raison d'etre* of Abdullah's support for the BJP-led Government was to secure such aid, it is evident that the strategy has not succeeded: the Rs.250 crore bailout is just a drop in the ocean, and no firm commitments on long-term aid have been made. The BJP has in fact been considerably more tightfisted on Jammu and Kashmir than the United Front governments of Prime Ministers H.D. Deve Gowda and I.K. Gujral, both of whom had made available funds for longterm infrastructure redevelopment. Finance Ministry officials have made no secret of their unhappiness with Jammu and Kashmir's financial claims, arguing that the roots of the crisis lie in the profligacy of the Abdullah Government. While this argument is at best-one-sided, it does illustrate the BJP establishment's ambivalence on the National Coinference. The commitments that the BJP made have not been honoured. A sum of Rs.200 crores promised for modernising and upgrading the strength of the police force in the wake of the Chapnari massacre, for one, is yet to materialise.

ABDULLAH'S inability to translate his affiliation with the BJP into developmental benefits for the State, its

stated purpose, has begun to erode his political base. Former Chief Minister Ghulam Mohammad Shah's decision to reappear on Kashmir's political landscape illustrates the widening opposition space in the State. Shah, best known for the infamous 1984 palace coup in which he replaced his brother-in-law, . Farooq Abdullah, had for the past several months been attempting a *rapprochement* with the National Conference. but to little effect. On July 6, he finally made public his reemergence as a political entity, charging the BJP with having engineered the Chapnari massacre and the Chief Minister with being a "yes-man of the Centre". Shah singled out the Rashtriya Rifles and the State police's Special Operations Group (SOG) as examples of Abdullah's failures. "Even the aged and respectable people, children and womenfolk are not spared by these vultures and have been subjected to the worst kind of humiliation in the name of crackdowns, search operations and fake encounters," he said.

While Shah's presence in the State's politics is at best peripheral, his choice of polemical strategy builds on the evident success of the strategy deployed by former Union Home Minister and now Congress(I) member of Parliament from Anantnag Mufti Mohammad Sayeed. Sayeed's victory from Anantnag in this year's Lok Sabha elections was built on winning over large sections of the pro-APHC constituency through attacks on Abdullah and the security establishment he presides over. On June 26, Congress(I) leaders, including Sayeed's daughter and member of the Legislative Assembly Mehbooba Mufti and former State Minister Ghulam Hassan Mir, made public a letter they wrote to the Governor attacking what they described as the National Conference's "bullet for bullet policy". Far from bringing about a reconciliation, they argued, the National Conference's term in office had created "more serious estrangement". Sayeed, in line

with his political position since 1996, argued that the sole solution lay in "a broad-based dialogue with various segments of public and political opinion", a formulation interpreted in the past to include factions ~ the APHC and members of terrorist groups.

This emerging appositional platform not only threatens the Nat Conference, but has whittled APHC constituency. Mehbooba recent claims that over 900 women had been molested by the SOG in the B area, for example, were clearly target the APHC's anti-National Conference ranks. While APHC chairman Jamaat-e-Islami political chief Syed Shah Geelani has repeatedly called for a role for his organisation in the on Jammu and Kashmir's future the absence of a mass base for the organisation has become evident. The APH suspension of Shabbir Shah after he floated the Democratic Freedom Party (D in May was not followed by his expulsion despite demands from terrorist groups and rumours; that he was flirting Sayeed, Muzaffar Baig, who unsucessfully contested the Lok Sabha elections from Baramullah, and G.M. Shah Hizbul Mujahideen, for example, charged Shah with wanting to "build castles on the graves of martyrs", while far right Dukhtaran-e-Millat women organisaticn claimed that after h 11 started his career as a pro-Pakistan activist", the DFP chief had "ended joining hands with India".

HOW does one account for APHC's failure .to translate international support for an India-Pakistan dialogue on Kashmir into pop endorsement for its own stand? The answers are not difficult to find. For one the rise of politicians such as Sayeed G.M. Shah has created democratic forms for its one-time constituents, eroding its authority. Then, there is more a little dissension within the organisation's ranks. The JamaateIslami's (supreme leader), G.M. Bhatt, has repeatedly described the armed

struggle as be redundant in the current political text, placing his notional deputy Gee in an embarrassing position. Per most important of all, APHC leaders far from certain that an India-Pakistan dialogue on Kashmir, even one imposed by the West, would serve their inter in any meaningful way. In June 1997 example, APHC leader Abdul Gani Lone had attacked the creation of a joint working group on Kashmir, claiming Prime Ministers I.K. Gujral and Nawaz Sharif shared the "colonial attitude" that the State's people could be "sold like cabbages in the bazaar'.

Yet, it would be incorrect to believe that the political marginalisation of the APHC means that its significance as a platform for legitimising violence has come to an end. In key senses,, the APHC's political power rested on the influence of armed terrorist groups, and should violence escalate in the Kashmir Valley, the formation could again acquire importance.

At least two developments are of particular significance. The recovery by the SOG on July 7 of a record quantity of 13 assault rifles, three universal machine guns, three rocket launchers and a dozen remote control devices used to trigger explosives illustrated that considerable caches of arms and explosives remain in Srinagar. Just a week before this recovery, over a quintal of explosive materials were found Stored, along with assault rifles, in a place located less than 200 metres from the State Secretariat. Then, Army troops shot dead 27 terrorists in the Nowgam sector of Kupwara in an exchange of fire, trying to stop the first major infiltration attempt after 10 days of shelling along the LoC. "The guns are there, the explosives are there," says Superintendent of Police (Operations) Manohar Singh. "If we fail to check infiltration, what we have achieved in Srinagar could soon be undone."

It is precisely this realisation that the National Conference no longer appears to have. Political issues like greater autonomy for the State have been relegated to the drawer in deference to the BJP's position on Article 370, and promises of development have been subverted by corruption and nepotism. Security policy appears equally confused and unfocussed. In early July, Farooq Abdullah publicly promised promotions for four officers of the SOG and then publicly went back on this promise owing to factional political considerations. Army and paramilitary officials make no bones about their irritation with what they believe is an unsupportive government. And within the National Conference itself, there are not-so-muted murmurs of rebellion, provoked by Abdullah's decision to appoint his son and Srinagar MP Umar Abdullah as the head of the party's youth wing, signalling his status as heir-apparent.

Jammu and Kashmir's ship of state, it is evident, still floats. But it does not move: not for want of oarsmen, but because their paddles are flapping several feet Above water, in pointless frenzy.

5

Communal War in Jammu Region

The terrorist group moved on to Thakrain-Hor village reaching there at 8-30 p.m. Villagers were dragged out o: their homes and lined up. Eight of them were shot dead, including three women who attempted to save their husbands. After stopping for three hours to loot cash and jewellery, the terrorists returned to Sarwan at 300 a.m. "They shouted 'we are from the army, come out'," recalls Vidya Devi. Her husband and brother-in-law complied. They were among the nine killed at Sarwan. The killings at Kishtwar followed by the massacres in the Kalaban forests in Chamba and Saliayan village in Poonch, mark., the escalation of the communal war in the Jammu region. The bodies of the dead people from Sarwan and Thakrain were brought to Kishtwar in a militant procession, led by local Rashtriya Swayamsevak Sangh (RSS) workers. Within Kishtwar town, the chances of a communal battle were high. After 16 bus passengers were killed near the town on August 14, 1993, a full-scale riot broke out. Further trouble was averted thanks to police action. "We arrived just before the procession reached the town," says Deputy Inspector-General of Police Ram Lubhaya. "A truck full of timber was passing by, and we used that to cremate the dead then and there."

If this intervention ended the effort to turn the cremation procession into the vanguard of a riot, Kishtwar town remained under curfew for the best part

of a week. Outside, tensions remained high. Muslims from the Bhandaarkot area, for example, reported receiving death threats from Village Defence Committees (VDCs), state-armed vigilante groups set up in areas with a vulnerable Hindu population. Indeed, the VDCs have become a key point of tension between Doda's communities at war. Rhetoric on the issue is often surreal. "The VDCs," asserts Hurriyat Conference-affiliated civil rights activist Abdul Qayoom Zargar, "are part of project to change the demographic character of this area." "The Army cooperates with the VDCs in killing innocent Muslims. In fact, there is reason to believe that the recent massacres have not been executed by the terrorist, but by agents of the government."

Hindus respond to accusations of misbehaviour by VDCs with equal unreason. "There is a conspiracy here involving the police and the State Government to drive out Hindus from Doda," says Bharatiya Janata Party youth worker Anil Parihar. "The VDCs are our only defence against this plot." What is clear, however, is that there is an undisputed case for better control over the functioning of VDCs, and their eventual incorporation within the conventional police structure. Moves to recruit at least four VDC members from each village as Special Police Officers are already in place.

Significantly, the Kishtwar killings have been linked to the murder of four family members of the deputy commander of the Hizbul Mujahideen in Doda, Mohammad Qasim, alias Abid, on June 19, allegedly by Army-backed vigilantes. Qasim's brother Mohammad Husain, his wife Sakeena, 17-year-old daughter Shaheena and elder sister-in-law Saleema were shot at their farm home at Machlal village by masked gunmen. Most Muslims in Doda blame the killings on the Army.

Qasim's surviving brother Mohammad Shafi told *Frontline* that one of the six gunmen spoke broken

Kashmiri, and the others Urdu. "I cannot say who they were," he said, "but they did not sound like soldiers." Shafi said he was trying to persuade Qasim to surrender, rendering plausible claims that the killings were carried out by terrorists. At the same time, past attacks on Shafi, including the burning of his home at Ganika village, make it entirely possible that the Machlal killings were the result of a botched security force operation.

Just as the killings have added to Hindu bitterness in Doda, state complicity in atrocities against Muslims has helped harden communal positions. On April 19, Abdul Qayoom, Ghulam Qadir, Abdul Ghani and Ghulam Mustafa were beaten to death by an RSS-led mob at Karara, near Doda, on National Highway 1. The four, residents of Kothi Pain village, were killed inside the local Border Security Force camp in reprisal for the killing of a BJP activist two days earlier. In January, nine unarmed villagers were killed when Rashtriya Rifles personnel used automatic weapons to disperse a stone-throwing mob at Qadrana, Kishtwar.

Politicians, for their part, have done little to build a political consensus against terrorism and communal violence. No National Conference politician of consequence visited Sarwan and Thakrain after the killings, or intervened in Kishtwar's tensions. Representation of the region's Hindus was thus vested in the RSS-BJP. On one recent occasion, the Doda MLA chose to share a platform with the jamaat-e-Islami's Ataullah Suhrawardy, an action inexplicable other than as rank communal opportunism.

Could the killings in Kishtwar have been averted? It is evident that the killings were enabled by the Government's failure to move in additional forces after Chapnari. "We had a picket in the area until the day before the killings," says the 9 Sector Rashtriya Rifles' Brigadier Satish Behl. "Unfortunately, I have just three

battalions to guard an enormous area, with Kashmir on one side and Himachal Pradesh on the other. We can't be everywhere." Behl's troops withdrew from the Sarwan-Thakrain area, moving further up in search of terrorist groups, just before the massacre. Some 150 Jammu and Kashmir Armed Police personnel and two Central Reserve Police Force (CRPF) companies have been withdrawn from operational work to protect the Amarnath Yatra at Banihal. Further CRPF and Special Operations Group companies are to protect three more yatras—the Mani Mahesh from Bhaderwah and Gandoh into Himachal Pradesh, the Macchal Yatra from Kishtwar and Bhaderwah and the Kailash Yatra to Kailash Kund beginning in mid-August. Doda Senior Superintendent of Police Munir Khan is blunt: "We just don't have the people we need to do our job."

Worst of all, the Government's commitment to fight the communal war is far from clear. Union Home Minister L.K. Advani's promises to deploy additional troops in the wake of the Chapnari massacre have remained unkept, while the effective counter-terrorist force level has declined through July (see chart). Neither have State Government promises to recruit 2,000 additional short-term Special Police Officers been kept. Interestingly, Doda district, spread over 11,000 sq km of some of the most rugged mountain terrain in India, some four times the area of the Kashmir Valley, has fewer troops than a single Valley district of Baramulla. The appalling level of the telecommunications facilities, which means that officials in Doda cannot easily contact Bhaderwah and Kishtwar, as well as poor roads cut off for months on end by landslips, makes effective counter-terrorist work near-impossible. Cynics might be forgiven for concluding that if terrorists and their fascist political sponsors have an obvious vested interest in butchering the region's Hindus, the right-wing BJP-led coalition is

also in no hurry to put an early end to the processes of violence that are driving communal polarisation through Jammu.

The addition of Chamba to the list of I areas in which terrorists are active was inevitable in this context. Before dawn on August 3, terrorists believed to belong to the same Lashkar-e-Toiba faction that was responsible for the Kishtwar killings surrounded tents housing road construction workers at the Khroey Bei outpost in the Kalahari woods, 10 kin from the Doda border. The 12 terrorists lined up the workers in three rows before opening fire with assault rifles, killing 26 persons and injuring 11. Women and children, separated in a group, watched the butchery. As the dead and the injured lay on the ground, the terrorists robbed the tents of cash, valuables and gelignite sticks and detonators used for road building. Two of the injured, Dhyan Singh and Beli Ram, bleeding from their bullet injuries, managed to make their way to the Mansa police post, 8 kin away. Even as Beli Ram and Dhyan Singh were making their way to the police post, a second terrorist group struck at Satrundi village. Residents of the village were again made to line up, and this time eight people were killed and three were injured.

Officials believe that though the time gap between the two incidents made it impossible for the killers to have made their way from Kalahari to Satrundi the organisation involved in the killings was identical. Interestingly, though Union Home Minister L.K. Advani promptly announced that 30 companies of the Punjab Armed Police would be moved into the area, there has been no explanation as to why this was not done despite warnings of terrorist activity in the area. Four people from a Himachal Pradesh village who strayed into Doda searching for medicinal herbs and honey were shot by terrorists. Their mutilated bodies were recovered on July

7. Late last year, a group of 23 village people were robbed in the Baju ka Bagh forests in Doda by a large group of terrorists. "Just a month back," says the Rashtriya Rifles' Behl, "we had found a terrorist dump inside Himachal Pradesh, with supplies for a large group." Although measures had been taken to prevent terrorists from crossing the State border, force levels were inadequate to secure key routes, such as the Malur Pass ill Kishtwar.

It seems that such massacres will continue, but signs that large-scale collective reprisals authored by the State are being engineered have also begun to emerge. The latest of these was after midnight on August 3, when 19 members of top Harkat-ul-Jihad Islami terrorist Imtiaz Sheikh were shot dead by unidentified gunmen. Sheikh's father Lassa Sheikh, his brothers Hussain Mohammad and Ahmad Din, their wives, and 14 children, including 11 girls, appeared to have been lined up outside their home in Salian village, and shot with automatic weapons. Although no evidence has emerged that the families were shot by security personnel, rumours that this was the case was enough to push dozens of Muslim families to take refuge in nearby Surankote town. The killings followed the murder of a key source of the 9 Para Commando Regiment, an Army unit with a formidable reputation in northeastern of India. The source, Zakir Husain, was killed by terrorists earlier the same day, after being dragged off a passenger bus.

What makes official claims that the Saliyan killings were the result of feuds among terrorist groups suspect is their context. Although terrorists from Jammu and Kashmir have been less than happy about the influx of Pakistan-backed mercenaries, and have on occasion supplied information to security forces about their movements, there is no evidence of disputes between far-right organisations themselves. The Harkat-ul-Jihad

Islami is a front organisation of the fascist Harkat-ul-Ansar, which in turn has close ideological affinities ' with the other fundamentalist group involved in the recent massacres, the Muridke, the Pakistan-based Lashkar-e-Toiba. "The Hizbul Mujahideen and others have had their problems with the Harkat and Lashkar-e-Toiba," one intelligence official told *Frontline,* "but if these two are having a dispute, it's news to me." Neither has any indication emerged of what objective the killing of Imtiaz Sheikh's family by another terrorist group would have served. Whatever the truth, the fact remains that in a charged and violent atmosphere, such killings could easily provide legitimacy to reprisals against Hindus by terrorist organisations.

What shape events will take in Jammu province is clear, but whether there is the will to address the crises driving the violence remains to be seen. For one, there appears to be no commitment bar the token to providing the armed forces, the paramilitary organisations and the State police the resources they desperately need. The contrast between Advani's dramatic proclamations and reality are only too evident.

More important, the task of building a political consensus against terrorism and communalism has been ignored. An evidently embarrassed BJP has retreated into a shell, with its State leadership blaming the National Conference Government for all the problems of the region. The Congress(I), for its part, has been demanding that Doda be declared a Disturbed Area, a demand it had resisted when the BJP put it forward in 1995. The N.C., which knows that in each year bar 1995, the Muslims of Doda have been numerically the principal victims of terrorists, has instead chosen to consort with chauvinist elements in the region. It may well be possible to end the violence in Jammu province through armed force: but will the communal scars heal?

Appendix

Director-General of Police Gurbachan Jagat is deeply concerned about the implications of the recent events in Jammu as are most top officials in Jammu and Kashmir's security establishment. One version has it that the massacres in the region axe the acts of desperate and marginalised terrorists. But they reflect new strategic realities in Jammu and Kashmir, and could have serious implications for the still relatively peaceful Valley.

For the last year matters have been worsening in the Jammu province, and there seems to be no end to the violence. What is behind these killings, and what needs to be done to stop them?

The first and most important factor is infiltration across the border. Unless we check infiltration through the Rajouri and Poonch borders, this problem will continue. Secondly, this contiguous belt from Poonch through Darhal and Buddhal areas into Rajouri, then into Gool and Mohor in Udhampur and finally from Doda, was once a route to Anantnag and the Valley. But for the past two years terrorists have settled down in these areas and created bases. They believe that massacres will force Hindus to migrate from the higher reaches, giving them a free run in the area. Of course, such killings have the added benefit, from their point of vi of provoking communal violence in Jammu. Finally, as far as Doda specifically is concerned, even reaching remote villages, let alone providing security there, is an enormous job, considering the terrain and the rudimentary roads and communication infrastructure. It can take over 40 hours to reach some points. On top of this, the force level in Doda has gone down over the past two years.

Is having more soldiers the answer?

Certainly not. We need sustained operations over a period of time to flush out terrorists from the forests

and mountains, and then neutralise them. We then need a good force level to hold the area and make sure they cannot make their way back. But as I said earlier, if we want a lasting solution, then the problem of infiltration has to be addressed.

On that question, what implication do you think this round of border firing, apart from the other issues it has raised, will have on infiltration?

In addition to whatever was taking place anyway, it is my conviction that larger numbers of infiltrators must have made their way in under cover of this firing in this period. This is something we need to give serious thought to.

Why are we unable to end infiltration, to seal the border as some people put it?

See, sealing the border is a concept which is not applicable here. If you see the Kupwara and Baramulla borders, they are mountainous and heavily forested. Fencing of the kind that was undertaken in Punjab is simply not possible. Nor can you man every inch of the terrain. So it has to be a combination of strategies. The Army has a two, three tier system of border operations, and we are working on adding a further tier of our own. Our strategies need to be creative and flexible.

So over the next weeks and months, should we expect an escalation in violence?

Normally the summer months do see an escalation in violence. Maize crops in the Jammu districts ripen, and the fields provide cover to terrorists to come right up to inhabited areas. The end of the summer is also the time that foreign mercenaries begin to go back to Pakistan, before the passes close in autumn. Until the passes close, yes, we should be prepared for high levels of violence.

6

Remembering Partition

The Partition of the subcontinent into India and Pakistan was an integral part of the formula for the transfer of power that the British Government, the Congress and the Muslim League arrived at in 1947. A cataclysmic event of savagery and loss, Partition forced nearly 12 million people to migrate to either side with little in hand but their status as Hindus or Muslims. It seared itself into a generation's consciousness, and the scars it left have healed on the surface but take little to open. Partition is a recurrent theme in the slew of books that have been written and published in the 50th year since Independence, suggesting that the process of understanding and coming to terms with that period of history is still not over.

With the passage of time and the passing of the generation that was most involved in and affected by the Independence movement and what followed, all recorded first-person accounts of the period have considerable historical value, regardless of whether the person was prominently involved in the politics of that period or was someone not in the limelight and whose insights of the times are confined to a more personal space. Rafiq Zakaria's part-memoir on the events leading up to Partition comes from the pen of a Muslim intellectual of the period, who rejected the politics of the Muslim League and the gravitational pull of M.A. Jinnah for those of the Congress.

Zakaria came from an orthodox Muslim family in Sopara, Maharashtra. He had his early education in Bhiwandi and Pune, and went to Mumbai, in those days a hotbed of nationalist politics, for college education. Drawn into student politics, he became the general secretary of the college students union and came into contact with several leading Congress, Socialist and Muslim League politicians. Zakaria began his journalistic writing early as a student he wrote for *Bombay Chronicle*, *Sunday Standard* and *Blitz*.

With a first-class degree in M.A., Zakaria won a scholarship to the London University, where he took his doctorate. In England, he continued working for *Blitz* and got a part-time assignment with *News Chronicle* and later with *The Observer*. He was in England from 1944 to 1949, and wrote on India-related developments. Zakaria's book is both a commentary and an analysis of the communal divide and the steady deterioration in the ground-level communal situation in the years leading up to Independence as a result of the colonial manipulation of the Muslim League and the Congress.

Zakaria's account of his boyhood, in the 1920s and 1930s, provides interesting insights into the reasons for the sense of alienation from Congress politics that grew among young Muslims and their attraction to the Muslim League. It also conveys his own sense of alienation as a person intellectually drawn to the nationalist argument from the major currents of thought that influenced his contemporaries in the Muslim community. His earliest political memories are of the *'prabhatpheries'* (morning processions) organised in his village by the Congress and the Khilafat committees in the early 1920s, a period when Hindu-Muslim relations were at their apogee.

The picture had changed by the mid-1930s. Jinnah's

call for Muslim solidarity was drawing a response from young and educated Muslims. "It was a strange era, when the youth of the two major communities were incited by their elders to distrust one another and were thus led into hostile camps," he writes. For young Muslims like him, "it was a trying time; I was distrusted by many of my coreligionists who suspected my loyalty to the community." He was torn between his patriotic involvement in the Congress and the traditional pull of Islam." He juxtaposes the approaches of Jinnah and Gandhi. The former saw liberation from the British in "constitutional terms; even his fight for the rights of Muslims had legalistic overtones". He contrasts this with the mass appeal of the saintly Gandhi.

Despite Jinnah's lack of what Zakaria calls the.11 common touch", his unconcealed contempt for the masses of poor and uneducated Muslims and his indifference to popular Muslim sentiment, he became a mass leader revered by his followers, while the Muslim League with its antinational demand for a separate homeland acquired a base among Muslims, particularly the educated segments. Zakaria attributes this partly to the failure of the Congress: first, it failed to build up a Muslim leadership that could counter the Jinnah appeal; secondly, it did not pay enough attention to working among Muslims to counter the communal propaganda of the League; and, thirdly, a section of the Congress leaders were themselves communal.

Maulana Abul Kalam Azad, whose learning and politics Zakaria had the greatest respect for, could not, according to him, "stand up to the bullying tactics of Jinnah". Zakaria confesses to the frustration' he felt at the "inaction that had gripped the greatest of A Muslim nationalists." He says Azad could have changed the course of events. According to Zakaria, "even the other Muslim leaders in the Congress refused to take on

Jinnah. They failed to explain the implications of Partition to their coreligionists." The considerable shift in the political loyalties of Muslims was not just a response to Jinnah's slogan of Islam in danger'. The predominantly Hindu character of the Congress Ministries formed in 1937 was another reason for this.

The Congress missed what Zakaria calls the "golden opportunity to stem the ride of Partition, especially as Muslims in the Muslim majority provinces, which later constituted Pakistan, had continued to stall it until the last", and communal politics in the 1940s followed its own inexorable logic. Thereafter, Zakaria covers well-known terrain the failure of the Gandhi-Jinnah talks, the Cabinet Mission plan and the final Mountbatten plan for the vivisection of the country.

Urvashi Butalia profoundly moving book on Partition covers less explored terrain it is a socio-literary exploration of what she calls the 'human dimension' of the history of Partition. This, she argues, has been inadequately handled in the literature on Partition partly because it does not come under conventional historical categories of 'fact' and' source' as we commonly know them but even more so because it means the stirring of long-dormant, unspoken memories of "loss and sharing, friendship and enmity, grief and joy, with a painful regret and nostalgia for loss of home, country and friends..."

The starting point for Butalia was her own family history like thousands of other families in North India, her family too had experienced the trauma of dislocation and of familial and material loss. It was also the phenomenon of contemporary communalism (the 1984 anti-Sikh riots and the more or less unbroken chain of communal upheavals since the 1980s), part legacy of pre-Partition and Partition politics, that drew her to look at

the terrain of the personal in larger historical currents. While interviews form her primary source, she has looked at diaries, memoirs, letters and other more 'traditional' source material. She has reconstructed what she calls the many voices of Partition. These include those of "People telling stories, the voices through which they speak in memoirs, diaries, autobiographies, those that emerge from the official narratives, those that are evident in communal discourses, and woven through all this, my own voice, reading, speaking, questing, hazarding explanations."

In the retelling of an intensely personal experience of Partition, the individual voice seeks almost to come to term, with a past in which Butalia says "virtually every family had a history of being both victims and aggressors in the violence". Thus we have Mangal Singh who tells the author of the decision taken by him and his two brothers before crossing over to Amritsar to 'martyr' 17 members of his family for fear that they would be converted. Then there is Basant Kant who was one among 90 women who jumped into a well for fear of Muslims, but *who* survived. "It's like when you put *rotis* into a *tandoor* and if it is too full, the ones near the top, they don't cook, the ' I have to be taken out. So the well filled up, and we could not drown ... Those who died, and those who were alive, they pulled out..." she told the author with chilling candour.

Much of the terror of this period fell on the womenfolk in Hindu, Sikh and Muslim families. In the course of her work Butalia came across a book entitled *List of Non-Muslim A bducted Women and Children in Pakistan and Pakistan Side of the Ceasefire Line in Jammu and Kashmir State,* which, in 1,414 pages, lists 21,801) women and children reported missing districtwise by their families after Partition. It was not just inter-community

violence that women were the targets of Brothers killed sisters, fathers their daughters and husbands their wives to 'save' them from what they considered a fate worse than death.

Butalia uncovers a part of the women's experience of Partition and Partition violence through a painful drawing out of historical memory. Much of this violence, often retold by men, was and continues to be justified in the name of family and community honour. "Such narratives are meant to keep women within their *aukat*, their ordained boundary, which is one that defines them as nonviolent. Their actions are thus relocated into the comfortably symbolic realm of sacrifice ... for the community, victimhood and even nonviolence."

Breaking through the walls of silence that Partition victims constructed around themselves, Butalia's book has made a remarkable and deeply sensitising contribution to Partition literature.

7

Vajpayee-Sharif Talks: A Resume

The nuclear tests conducted by India and Pakistan have brought South Asia into sharp international focus and put the Kashmir issue on the frontburner. Buoyed by the renewed international interest on Kashmir, Pakistan has been working hard to keep the issue on the boil. In the event, the dramatic escalation in the firing by Pakistani troops across the Line of Control at a time when Vajpayee and Sharif were scheduled to meet does not appear to have been a matter of coincidence. In a letter that Vajpayee wrote to Sharif on June 14, he reiterated India's commitment to fostering peaceful and friendly relations between the two countries and developing a stable structure for cooperation. Vajpayee's proposal that the two Prime Ministers hold bilateral discussions in Colombo was accepted by Sharif. Many people expected that given the strong international pressure on Pakistan and the dire economic straits the country found itself in, Sharif would at the talks agree to resume the stalled Foreign Secretary-level discussions. However, the Indian side appears to have miscalculated Pakistan's resolve and ability to focus exclusively on Kashmir.

Before Vajpayee left for Colombo, prominent diplomats, including former Foreign Secretary J.N. Dixit, urged him to accept Pakistan's challenge and place Kashmir on top of the agenda of the bilateral talks. However, once in Colombo, the Indian side decided to stick to its original strategy of insisting that the Foreign

Secretary-level talks be "composite and broad-based". Indian policymakers were not willing to depart from the script that has been in place since June 1997 when, after the second round of Foreign Secretary-level talks, a joint statement was issued identifying eight subjects for discussion and providing for the setting up of a mechanism to facilitate the discussions. The subjects identified were: peace and security, including confidence building measures; Jammu and Kashmir; Siachen; Wullar Barrage Project; Sir Creek; terrorism and drug trafficking; economic and commercial cooperation; and friendly exchanges in various fields. Pakistan continues to maintain that there has been no progress in starting a meaningful discussion on the Kashmir issue and that India is playing for time. The third and last round of Foreign Secretary-level talks were held in September 1997. Since then there has been no progress in the matter of the dialogue.

Pakistan has viewed the Bharatiya Janata Party-led Government with suspicion. Its suspicions were heightened when India conducted its nuclear tests in May and, following these, senior Ministers indulged in much talk about redrawing borders, employing a proactive policy on Kashmir and so on.

Before leaving for Colombo, a senior official of the External Affairs Ministry outlined the goals that New Delhi hoped to achieve there. He said that New Delhi's first priorities were to establish "stable and good relations" with Pakistan, to work on the basis of the many commonalities that exist between the two countries and, most important, to work "bilaterally to resolve issues". He said that the Indian Government had no ill-will towards Pakistan and added that Vajpayee was genuinely committed to a "stable and prosperous Pakistan". However, he said, the dialogue process with Pakistan was hampered by the virulent Pakistani

propaganda, which was against the spirit of the Simla Agreement.

For its part, the Pakistani delegation made its intentions dear almost as soon as it arrived in Colombo. In the interviews he gave Western news agencies before Vajpayee and Sharif were scheduled to meet, Gohar Ayub Khan, the then Foreign Minister, made it known that the Foreign Secretary-level talks could be resumed only if Kashmir was put on top of the agenda and India reduced its troop concentration in the Kashmir Valley and recognised the All Party Hurriyat Conference as the legitimate representative of the Kashmiri people. He said Pakistan wanted the Foreign Secretary-level talks to discuss the Kashmir issue in a Working Group, with another Working Group addressing the question of "peace and security".

At every available forum, the Pakistani side made it clear that it was opposed to the June 1997 formula favoured by India. It was obvious that Pakistan was not serious about resuming Foreign Secretary-level talks at this juncture. While the Pakistani side appeared to be intent on internationalising the Kashmir issue, the Indian side, until the last day of the summit, was cautiously optimistic about the prospect of bilateral talks being resumed.

The high point was the meeting between Vajpayee and Sharif. The two leaders met for 45 minutes on July 29. The bonhomie that was evident during the meeting between Sharif and Prime Minister I.K. Gujral during the SAARC summit in Male in 1997 was noticeably absent here. When Sharif and Gujral jointly met the media in Male, Sharif had said that Gujral was a person he could trust. This time around, when an Indian journalist asked Sharif about his impression of Vajpayee, he smiled and said that Vajpayee was "a good man". Significantly, the two leaders chose to hold separate press conferences.

Vajpayee's interaction with the media was brief and terse. After reading out a short statement, he said that he had a "good" meeting with Sharif, at which wide-ranging issues of mutual interest were discussed. For his part, Sharif too said that he had a good meeting with Vajpayee and described the talks as "frank and candid". He made it a point to emphasise that the nuclear tests and their aftermath had also been discussed. According to sources, at his meeting with Vajpayee, Sharif indicated that the Foreign Secretary-level talks could be resumed only if the "core"' issue of Kashmir was dealt with expeditiously, preferably by a separate Working Group. He is also said to have made clear his preference for international mediation on Kashmir. Speaking to the media, he said that all the disputes that had been resolved between the two countries over the last 50 years had been through international mediation. Pakistan's position is that the Gujral Government had agreed to have a separate Working Group on Kashmir after the Sharif-Gujral meeting in Male but New Delhi backtracked later. However, in Male itself, Indian officials had tried to distance themselves from Pakistan's interpretation of the agreement.

As expected, in Colombo, the Indian side stuck to its stand on the need to have a "comprehensive and composite" dialogue on all outstanding issues, including Kashmir. However, reflecting his country's hardened stand on Kashmir, Sharif said that even the international community had acknowledged that Kashmir was the "core issue of tension" between the two countries and added that it had to be addressed meaningfully with a view to reaching a final settlement.

Sharif also brought the issue of the nuclearisation of South Asia to the fore at his press conference. He said that the tests had added another dimension to the region's security concerns. "It is imperative that we

address ourselves to the issue of nuclear and conventional restraint and stabilisation, avoidance of conflict and confidence building measures." Sharif, who denied making threatening statements after Pakistan conducted its nuclear tests, said: "There were threatening statements from India."

Although both the leaders described their talks as "good", in an interview he gave a local newspaper the next day Sharif said that the outcome of the talks amounted to "zero". The talks had ended in a "stalemate", he said, and added that the leaders were in Colombo not to "waste each other's time". This undiplomatic outburst came as a surprise to the Indian side since both Vajpayee and Sharif had, only a day earlier, given the impression that the Foreign Secretary-level talks were about to be revived. In fact, Vajpayee had said that the two sides had agreed to resume the talks. Following his leaders's example, Tariq Altaf, the Pakistan Foreign Office spokesman, virtually accused the Indian side of "unilaterally" announcing that the talks were going to be resumed. He said that Sharif had only told the media that the two sides had agreed "to continue the talks at the next available opportunity".

The last day of the summit witnessed the end of diplomatic niceties between the two sides. The otherwise soft-spoken Indian Foreign Secretary, K. Raghunath, termed Pakistan's behaviour as "neurotic" over its "obsessive" focus on a one-point agenda. Before departing for home, the Pakistani side distributed copies of a "non-paper" which proposed eight confidence building measures to reduce tension in the Jammu and Kashmir region. These included the strengthening of the team of United Nations military observers along the LoC, the release of Kashmiri militants kept under detention, the stationing of U.N. human rights monitors in the Valley, and the removal of Indian Army pickets in

Srinagar. Raghunath, who rejected these, said that outside interference in Kashmir would not be tolerated. He reiterated that Kashmir would continue to remain an integral part of India.

The international community has been exerting pressure on India and Pakistan to hold talks. U.S. Secretary of State Madeleine Albright has offered U.S. mediation to settle the dispute. After the firing along the LoC escalated recently, the U.S. sent urgent messages to the two countries urging them to exercise restraint. A U.S. State Department spokesperson said: "The volatility of Kashmir is a stark reminder of the pressing need for India and Pakistan to resolve their differences." U.N. Secretary-General Kofi Annan has urged the two countries to sign the Comprehensive Test Ban Treaty and hold talks on Kashmir.

8

Trap in Kashmir

Considering that a feature of almost all Indo-Pakistani dialogue has been an intensification of shelling from across the Pakistan side of the border in Kashmir, it is hardly surprising that the latest efforts at resuming the talks should also be accompanied by rising tension in the area. But there is probably also a difference from what happened in the past. The earlier acts of provocation were usually ascribed to a message from the Pakistani army and the ISI to the politicians in Islamabad not to be too friendly towards India. But if there were any differences in their approaches towards India earlier, this time they are probably in full agreement. The collapse of the dialogue within a day of the Vajpayee-Nawaz Sharif meeting in Colombo, and the continuing firing by Pakistani troops in Kashmir, may well be part of a bigger game plan. By ensuring that the Colombo initiative did not Make any headway and then accusing India of violating Pakistani airspace, Islamabad evidently wants to lend additional confirmation to the international community's otherwise unwarranted fears that the situation in Kashmir is indeed grave. Having succeeded to a large extent in refocussing world attention on Kashmir as a flashpoint in the wake of the nuclear tests, Pakistan clearly does not want any relaxation of tension. Nothing else explains its sudden loss of interest in the talks.

Islamabad's sole objective at present is to pursue with even greater vigour its plan to involve a third party, preferably its old friend the US, in mediating in Kashmir and the only way to accomplish this is to ensure a rapid deterioration in the situation. There is little doubt that in evolving this dangerous strategy, the Pakistani politicians are in full agreement this time with the other, hidden elements in that country's ruling establishment, who have always pursued a sinister agenda of their own. In this provocative context, it is of the utmost importance for India to act with restraint because Islamabad would like nothing better than to goad New Delhi into committing an indiscretion. While returning the fire, therefore, India must keep the lines of communication open so that the conditions remain well under control. It requires no reiteration that the only solution to the problems facing the two neighbours has to be through a protracted dialogue and that, too, in an atmosphere of peace. Even those in Pakistan who believe that an act of brinkmanship will help their cause must realise that an escalation of conflict will only make the ultimate task of resolving the problems more difficult. India, too, will have to be on guard that it does not fall into a trap set by the desperate elements in Pakistan's ruling troika.

9

Life in the Bunker

In Uri sector Naik Subedar Somaiah, turns around to walk away but stops to give instructions. "We will head to Gal Pool (Gal Bridge) from where you will have to walk 1.5 km to Fat Bridge. This stretch is visible to the Pakistani posts because afternoon the sunlight is on our side and they fire on any vehicle movement on this stretch," he cautions us. "Please note that you will be exposed and within their firing range, so keep at least five metres gap when you are walking on this stretch. Any further clarifications will be given at Gal Pool." We get into our car even as five soldiers saddling LMGs and SLRs jump into a Shaktiman truck; Subedar Somaiah gets into the front seat. The drive through the cantonment presents a duality of sights: army officers playing golf and soldiers manning gun positions; soldiers bathing near mountain streams. In retrospect, this prepared us to comprehend the reality of the lives of the soldiers and officers in a forward post.

We take in the breathtaking scenery; the mountain road drops sharply on one side into the Jhelum which has been our constant companion. We have been on the road for more than an hour and are high up in the mountains. The only sounds we hear are of rushing white water over boulders and rocks. Suddenly there is a deafening bang. We jerk out of our reverie and the photographer is out of the car in a flash, ready to capture real-life action on reel.

We had expected the soldiers to get into position and let go a fusillade of LMG fire. Instead, some of them had a huge grin on their faces and one pointed to the rear tyre of the truck with his SLR. It was a puncture! While the jawans got down to replacing the wheel, we walked up to a stream flowing down the mountain to freshen up. Though the evenings are long in the mountains at this time of the year, we wanted to be at the Lotus post before dusk to be able to take photographs.

Fifteen minutes after having resumed the drive we reach Gal Bridge. Subedar Sampat Shinde breaks away from a posse of armymen waiting for us. "Welcome to Gal Bridge," he greets us. Before he can continue I ask him the same question I had asked Somaiah. "Trucks carrying ration and other supplies (ammunition) drive up to Gal Bridge. After 9.00 p.m. they cross the Gal Bridge and Fat Bridge which is the unloading point," Shinde elaborates. "The vehicles move with the lights switched off."

Shinde offers us tea and engages in small talk, but he soon realises that we expect a detailed briefing and abruptly changes the topic of discussion. "Right ahead diagonally across the bridge are two Pakistani posts—Upper Udham and Lower Udham," he informs us. "The sun is towards us, so you can be sure that they (the Pakistanis) are watching you."

The bridge is on National Highway 1 Alpha (Jammu-Srinagar highway) which curves to the right after Fat Bridge, then turns left and runs for a few kilometres before going into Pakistan-occupied Kashmir up to Muzzafarabad. In fact, Muzzafarabad is only 40 km from Fat Bridge.

In 1947-48 invaders from Pakistan had come by this road up to Srinagar. For the last 10 years it has not been used because any movement on it is blasted off by the

Pakistani posts overlooking the road. To avoid the trigger-happy Pakistanis, the Indian Army has cut the mountain to make a passage for vehicle movement to the last village, Kharboza, on this sector. From Kharboza one has to climb up the mountain to reach the Lotus post.

Lotus and Bhayanak are strategically the most important Indian posts in the Uri sector. They are atop the shoulders of two mountains flanking the Jhelum and NH IA runs high along the river. But the Pakistani posts are at a higher level than the Indian ones, so they are able to dominate movement on the road. However, what is important for India is control over the bridges and NH IA. "Pakistan has been trying to blast off Gal Bridge for years," says Shinde. "It was shelled from three posts—Khanmuri, Upper and Lower Udham—and around 1,000 shells have landed in this area." The bridge is under constant surveillance to foil any attempt to blast it with Improvised Explosive Device (IED) or mines. "This bridge is the lifeline of our forward posts and strategically one of the most important," says Shinde.

While we are talking to Shinde and the jawans the last bus from Baramullah via Uri stopped at the Gal Bridge checkpost. Kashmiris living in Kharboza have to trek for two hours from here to reach their homes. Those whose houses are in the upper reaches of the mountain have to trek about an hour longer.

They line up at the post for identification and security check; those living in the border villages had to always carry ID cards. As they identify themselves a jawan ticks their names written in the register. A middle-aged woman, Bilquis, gets down wearily from the bus and looks up with surprise when we greet her. We tell her we are journalists and that we want to talk to her. She moves her tired head slowly and whispers dryly, "No."

Shinde walks up to us saying, "You are getting late and they are waiting for you at Fat Bridge." Bilquis smiles at us as we wave a goodbye to Shinde and the jawans. Three armymen accompany us as we walk across Gal Bridge and make our way to Fat Bridge. After walking a few hundred metres we bump into Mohammad Akram. "I am a teacher in the Kharboza middle school," he introduces himself. "Our difficulties are untold and miserable."

Two young men from 12 Infantry Brigade Signals come abreast and we strike up a conversation. They are going to repair communication lines that were damaged in the shelling. "We will do the job at night to avoid the Pakistani firing," says Signalman Devi Dyal. Many a time they have to do the restoration work even while the shelling is going on. "If we don't, the forward posts will be cut off and we might put our forward forces in great danger," says Devi Dyal.

Added Signalman Girish Barua, "I had just completed my training in Goa and was posted here when the seven-day war took place. Now it is quiet because we have given back to them (Pakistan) more than they (Pakistanis) had asked for."

Slowly the conversation shifted to thoughts of home. "I have given an application to go home, but the Pakistanis won't let me go home. They will again shell on August 15. Perhaps after that my leave application will be accepted." We walk across the bridge one at a time and are greeted by Naik Subedar Dilip K. Tawar. Dusk is setting and my photographer is worried he may lose a good photo opportunity. It's 6.45 p.m. and the Fat Bridge post receives a message on the field phone instructing Tawar to "send up the media team quickly".

Before we begin our climb to Kharboza we ask Tawar the Fat Bridge post's main task. "We distribute supplies

to eight forward posts during the night and in the morning we send road-opening parties to clear the road of IEDs and mines placed by militants," he says.

Halfway up the climb we stop to take a breather when we hear two distinct series of LMG rounds. "The Pakistanis are saying hello to you," a jawan tells us. There is a slight drop in temperature, but we are sweating profusely. There is still light on the upper reaches of the mountain, but dusk has set in the valley.

After a five-minute halt we resume the climb. We clamber over a huge rock and spy on Bilquis sitting on a rock, still and tranquil. We greet her and she smiles back. This time she talks without reservation. She says that she had gone to Baramullah to see her four children who are studying there. "I have been staying here for 20 years since we moved from Srinagar, but we have never faced the kind of shelling that Pakistan rained on us. I was having tea at 6 a.m. with my husband on July 30 when the shelling started," she says. We reach Kharboza at 7.15 p.m. and are asked to get into a waiting Shaktiman truck. After a nerve-racking 45-minute drive without lights on a rock-strewn road with a steep drop on one side we reach the unloading point of Lotus post. We immediately start the climb to Lotus led by Company Havildar Major (CHM) Patil.

At the post the company commander Major Santosh Kurup of 6 Maratha Light Infantry is at hand to receive us. After asking us to take rest he asks the nursing assistant Nityanand, who had come up with us from Fat Bridge, to dress the wound on his leg caused by a shell splinter. The dressing done, we wave a goodbye to Nityanand before Kurup guides us to the bunkers through a ridge. "Walk in a file because the slopes on both sides of the ridge are packed with mines," he cautions, but quickly reassures us that "there is nothing to worry because there are wire railings on both sides".

The railings are "an indication that both sides of slopes are embedded with mines." For some 20 minutes we stumble along the narrow track in pitch darkness, before entering through a gate into the army's network of communication trenches and bunkers.

We tell Kurup we want to take a look at PoK. He leads us to an *Ops Bunk* (operations bunker) overlooking the PoK town of Chakhoti Chakhoti is completely blacked out. "When it's illuminated the town is a spectacular sight from here," says Kurup and adds that "the nearest Pakistan post is at a distance of 2 km as the crow flies". This post had faced the major brunt of shelling in the Uri sector. Kurup takes us to a bunker to brief us. We walk past 'fighting bunkers' containing different kinds of weapon systems. Soldiers move around confidently, while we gingerly pick our way in the darkness.

The 'living bunkers' are on the reverse slope of the mountain not visible to the Pakistani post. Here all the bunkers are lighted up by a generator. "You have to finish whatever work you have before 11.30 p.m. after which the generator will be turned off," Kurup informs us.

Every jawan has to do three hours duty in a day in a 'fighting bunker'. Once the operational duty is over the jawan is busy performing other duties. He may be assigned to the kitchen or for repairing and maintenance of bunkers. The day time is also spent for "personnel administration" like washing clothes, reading newspapers (which reach three days late) or writing letters.

They have been staying in the posts for months. "We stay here for six months and get two months of annual leave and 20 days of casual leave," says Sepoy Shapurkar.

We reach the 'guest house' (a living bunker for guests) and CHM Patil introduces us to two artillery officers—Major Sudhir Lamba and Captain Bhanwar Singh. A few minutes later Kurup gestures us to be quiet and we hear distinct thuds. "Arty fire?" asks Kurup. Lamba shakes his head to say no and they conclude that some forward post in Bhayanak is under LMG fire. Lotus itself has four posts, one only 300 metres from the nearest Pakistani post.

"This is peanuts to what normally happens," says Lamba. "After the shelling they have quietened because they have suffered crippling damage because of our retaliation."

In fact the jawans on night sentry duty are expected to fire in retaliation without seeking clearance if the Pakistan post opens small arms fire. To ensure that the jawan knows what to do when the post is assaulted by indirect fire like shelling a "stand-two" is held every day at 4.30 a.m. during winter and at 6 a.m. in summer. Every day a "last light" is also held at dusk which is similar to "stand-two."

These are drills where all the men rehearse their roles. For instance, which bunker to go in and which weapon system to handle, if the post is threatened. That night the drill was put into practice.

The officers—Kurup, Lamba and Singh—rush into the operations room to report the situation to their headquarters in Uri. Meanwhile the jawans set up the mortars in a flash and wait for instructions to open fire. Lamba concludes that no mortars are being fired and decides not to contact the fire direction centre (FDC) in Uri. When the forward posts come under artillery fire they ask the FDC about retaliating. Depending on the volume of fire being faced by a post the FDC orders the Indian gun positions to open up at Pakistani targets.

Do they think of home, wife and children? "When we are on duty there is no point of thinking of such things. Anyway what's the point of being emotional when we have taken a vow to fight for our country," he says. Miraculously, though Lotus was hit the most in the Uri sector on those seven days there were no casualties. "Survival is a matter of luck in such situations," said Sepoy Shapurkar.

We get out of the bunker and head for the 'guest house'. and there's a slight drizzle outside. The mountains surrounding the post are sombre and dark, and there is an eerie stillness in the air. It is around 2 a.m. when dinner is served. After dinner we go to the 'living bunkers' of the jawans. Eight jawans live in one bunker. We duck into one and find three jawans huddled around a radio listening to BBC. All India Radio, BBC and Pakistan radio are all monitored by the jawans hungry for news from outside. One of the jawans has a smile on his lips as he reads a letter from home. "Everything all right." we ask? He nods and says, "My wife wants me to write to her when I would be home." I head towards Sepoy Shapurkar, who is unrolling his sleeping bag, and sit on his wooden bed. He has been in the army for three years. "There are no Sundays or holidays for us and we like it that way. There is so much to do that one doesn't miss home, but we look forward to going home on leave. We do everything from cooking to going out on night patrols and ambush duty," he says.

The realisation that we would probably shrink from living the way they do comes in double quick time. A sobering respect for the jawans wells up in our hearts, but words that don't sound hypocritical fail us.

Madige and Patil join in the conversation. "Being in a post means 24 hours of duty. One has to be alert at all times," he says. The jawans have a TV, a carrom board and play cards during leisure time. "These moments are

rare because the Pakistanis do not sleep well if they don't fire at us. We fire and make sure that they don't sleep at all," says Patil.

I turn around and see the TV switched off. Madige nudges me and says, "The shelling destroyed the satellite dish, you see it tomorrow morning." We wanted to know whether they have written back home after the shelling. "We did not get time to write after the shelling stopped because we had many tasks to accomplish," was the refrain.

And how many letters do you get in a month? "Each of us gets eight letters in a month, postage free, through the army postal service," says Shapurkar. "The field post office sends up the letters in the supply truck that is sent to Fat Bridge every night."

We don't realise that we have talked throughout the night. We apologise because the jawans have had no sleep and have to get ready for "stand-two." They reassure us and tell us that our visit was a welcome break from the daily routine.

We step out of their bunker after telling them how much we enjoyed our stay with them. Daylight breaks suddenly in the mountains though the visibility is restricted by fog. At 4.30 a.m. we move to the observation post to look at Chakhoti. As the veil of fog lifts slowly we see a well spread out town stirring itself awake. "Don't thrust your head way out of the bunker because you will be a sitting duck," warns Kurup. We want to stay and take photographs of the town bathed in sunlight, but have to head down by 6.30 a.m. to start our return journey.

We get into a trench for a final tour around the post and see it in daylight. There are freshly-filled shell craters all around the post. "We went through hell," Kurup tells us. All the bunkers except one the guest

house bunker—was hit by the shelling. Trees bore splinter marks and scores of them were felled by shells and mortars. A bunker containing an anti-aircraft gun had collapsed. An armoured piercing device (APD) was fired on it to penetrate through the bunker. Subsequently it was targeted by artillery to ensure that shells passed through the hole made by the APD.

But the most sobering thought was that we had inflicted a heavy damage on them. "Pakistan has stopped its artillery assault because we inflicted heavy damage on their forward gun positions," says Kurup.

It's 7 a.m. by the time we finish our guided tour and we are already half an hour late. A jawan runs up to tell Kurup that the truck is waiting for us in Kharboza. We take leave of the jawans and Kurup accompanies us. He stops near the Lotus post's green gate and gestures towards a line written in white paint on top of the gate—"Please visit us again." For a post that has hardly seen visitors it was a touching thought.

We see Kurup carrying a register under his arms, but we don't ask him what it is for. We are guilty of having grilled him throughout the previous evening and night and in the morning as well. Kurup embraces us before we clamber up into the Shaktiman. He hands the register to us and tells us, "This is a guest register, please write something before you leave."

There was a virtual war along the Line of Control (LoC) between India and Pakistan between July 30 and August 6. Civilian areas as far as 25 km from the LoC were hit by Pakistani shelling. "It was not a skirmish, but a war," Colonel Narendra Mehta of the 12 Infantry Brigade, Uri, told THE WEEK. In his sector, every village was affected. Never since the 1971 war have civilian areas been attacked like this. For the first time, there was large-scale migration of villagers to safer areas.

While the Jammu and Kashmir government puts the figure of those who migrated from the border villages at 4,775, people in Baramullah say that about 10,000 migrants are seeking refuge in camps and a gurdwara in the town. Places like Gurez and Tangdhar in the Kupwara sector have been devastated; Buniyar and Chandanwari, which are less than 20 km from the 19 Infantry Division headquarters, were shelled for the first time.

According to Colonel G.S. Grewal of the same division, direct firing in the LoC is business as usual, but the indirect fire (artillery fire) from gun positions far away from the LoC was definitely unusual. "This time artillery has been used extensively. Pakistan used all kinds of artillery to target civilian areas—light mortars field artillery, 105 mm guns (12 to 14 km); and medium artillery, 155 mm."

The 155 mm shells are the heaviest and a lot of such unexploded shells are lying around in the villages. At 5.20 a.m. on July 30 the Pakistanis resorted to heavy artillery fire along the Baramullah division from gun positions south of the Pir Panjal in the Hajipir bulge and along the Muzafarabad axis which is the extension of Jammu-Srinagar highway into PoK.

The Indian assault was launched at 6 a.m. The emphasis was on preventing infiltration of militants and mercenaries and destroying the Pakistani "fire support means" (their gun positions). The main purpose of the trans-LoC firing is to facilitate infiltration when the Indian soldiers take cover and organise a retaliation.

If the Pakistanis have been pushing in mercenaries and militants by resorting to direct firing, what made them target innocent civilians? According to Brigadier Klair this is the peak period to push in the militants, but the deployment of Indian forces across the LoC had

prevented it to a large extent. So they resorted to artillery firing to push in as many militants before the border areas became snowbound.

"By September the upper reaches become snowbound; the passes close by November and all the routes are blocked till February. By March the snow starts melting, but the routes remain closed till April," Colonel Grewal said. According to Major General V.C. Patankar, the GOC of the Kupwara sector, time is running out for Pakistan. "We have thwarted infiltration during the shelling," he said. Of course, a few could always sneak in.

Commander R. P. S. Malhan of the 161 Infantry Brigade thinks there could be another reason, too. "Shelling had a political message to the civilians of the border villages—it was a punishment for their withdrawing support to militants," he says.

The Indian retaliation did not target civilian areas. "Collateral damage cannot be ruled out," says Klair. The Pakistanis deviously place their artillery guns close to civilian areas and most of their gun positions are located within villages. So when India targets their gun position it results in civilian casualties. Whereas no Indian gun position is located close to civilian areas.

"What advantage do we get from killing civilians if it does not enhance our military potential? It's a waste of ammunition,". According to Commander Malhan, the Indian retaliation has resulted in 10 to 12 times more damage and 15 times more casualties in Pakistan. "At the tactical level as long as we suppress their fire support means, stop infiltration and maintain a moral ascendancy on the LoC, our aim is met," says Klair.

It is clear that Pakistani shelling was targeted at civilian areas. Villages like Balkhote, which is just 1.5 km from the LoC, were hit. And the nearest Indian post is

more than 2 km away. "Either the Pakistani gunners are inaccurate and have to be schooled in artillery firing or their firing was deliberate," said a senior officer. Though bunkers in the forward posts can survive direct hits, houses in villages will face absolute destruction. "Anything within a radius of 30 metres will be wiped out," says Colonel Grewal.

The manner of the shelling also points out the deliberate strategy to target Indian villages across the LoC. When the shell (which is more than one feet long) bursts in the air (air-burst) its purpose is to cause death. When it lands on houses or any solid structure (contact burst) it causes death and destruction. Both kinds of shelling were done by the Pakistani gunners.

According to senior army officers, one of the aims was to help the militants further their agenda by creating a fear psychosis. The Inter Services Intelligence's plan was to create a civil administration problem which could then be used to fan the flames of militancy. The ISI needed to do something dramatic in the face of changing ground realities in Kashmir valley.

The Amarnath yatra was a success with 1.5 lakh pilgrims taking part in it, there is a promise of a tourism boom (this year a record 2.5 lakh tourists including yatris visited J&K) and the combined forces deployed in the state has had one success after the other in counterinsurgency operations. Recently, in the Kupwara sector it was the villagers of Drugmula who informed the nearest army post about 30 militants, including mercenaries, who had entered their village.

According to a senior military intelligence officer, "the militants used to sneak through the border and seek refuge in border villages before moving on, but this does not happen any-more." The army now dominates these villages by virtue of having established a strong civil-defence liaison.

The phenomenon of reverse migration which started in 1994 has intensified lately. "Youths who had gone across the border to become militants have started surrendering disillusioned by the false promises of their agents in Pakistan and many others have surrendered after seeing the horrible living conditions across the border," he said.

Many who have recently infiltrated with mercenaries have also turned themselves in to the Indian armed forces. One big difference between the militants and the mercenaries is that the latter do not surrender but go down fighting. They are fanatical killers. "The Kashmiri militants have also reversed their roles. They have become the guides of the mercenaries and it is the latter who kill," says the military intelligence officer.

More than 60 per cent of recent infiltrators are mercenaries. Since the tide has turned against the militants the information flow is massive from locals in villages and towns. According to senior army officers artillery duels like those witnessed in the first week of August may become the norm instead of the normal small arms firing as Pakistan's covert activities in the valley are suppressed.

Ultimately it is the Kashmiris who have sounded a death knell for Pakistan's insidious game plan. After suffering for 10 years at a huge personal, economic and social cost they want peace and prosperity. One needs just a look along the Dal lake front or visit the Mughal gardens or see the shopping centres in Srinagar to realise this.

10

Kashmir Issue and the People of Pakistan

There is only a 30-minute time zone difference between India and Pakistan, but for a person who has read the morning newspapers in India and goes through the Pakistani newspapers available aboard a Pakistan International Airlines flight from Mumbai the same afternoon, the two countries may seem to be worlds apart. While the Indian newspapers blame "our hostile neighbour" and its Inter-Services Intelligence (ISI) agency for the "unprovoked firing" along the Line of Control in Kashmir and the deaths of scores of people in Jammu and Kashmir and areas of Himachal Pradesh, Pakistani newspapers have reports datelined "Held Kashmir". These talk about the innumerable "martyrs" (*shaheed is* the word that is commonly used) who have succumbed to the "deliberate *zulm*" (atrocities) unleashed by the Indian armed forces in the "Indian-held Kashmir region".

However, propaganda is one thing and the actual feelings of the majority of people on both sides of the border are another. In Pakistan, a kind of weariness appears to have crept in *vis-a-vis* the Kashmir issue although political rhetoric in its shrillest form, beamed into people's homes by the official media, has managed to keep the Kashmir issue uppermost in the people's minds. The depressed state of the economy Pakistan's foreign exchange reserves are down to $700 million

despite help extended by Islamic countries, particularly Saudi Arabia, Kuwait and Qatar, and the Islamic Development Bank, which have together provided around $2.5 billion may just prevent it from defaulting on its foreign debt servicing in the next quarter. The average Pakistani has begun to ask questions about the Kashmir issue, a relatively new phenomenon in Pakistan.

An administrative manager in one of Karachi University's institutes (he was once interrogated by the ISI because he greeted warmly an Indian envoy visiting the campus) echoed popular public opinion when he said: "It is high time both the countries settled the Kashmir issue." He was, however, not voicing popular thinking when he asked: "Kya *Kashmiri log Pakistan ke saath wafa karenge?* " *(Will* the Kashmiris be loyal to Pakistan?) He said: "Even if a settlement between the two countries, call it plebiscite or by whatever name, results in India letting go of Kashmir, my personal view is that the people of Kashmir will opt to become an independent country." When asked whether Kashmir would survive economically and otherwise in such an event, he said: "If Azad Kashmir and that part of Kashmir that is now with India come together, they can form an independent country. As far as size and survival are concerned, you do have smaller countries like Panama."

However, what was significant was his couldn't-care-less attitude to Kashmir whether it stayed with Pakistan or opted to become independent was irrelevant to him. With the Kashmir issue put behind it, Pakistan can, he said, "stop squandering millions of rupees on defence expenditure and move towards the path of self-reliance."

Hanif Janoo, president of the Karachi Chamber of Commerce and Industry, said that the two countries "must solve the Kashmir issue because together, we are a big power." He said that even though India and Pakistan

have become nuclear powers, they still had to face the economic issues. "So many of our people do not have one proper meal a day," he said and added that "the same is true of your country." "These people live below the poverty line. If the two countries join hands, just think of the things we can do for our people. I don't think a solution to the Kashmir issue is that difficult. It can be solved, provided we are sincere. If the issue is solved according to the U.N. Charter or an agreement between Kashmiris, Pakistan and India, the two countries can march ahead and give our people the future they have been dreaming of."

Janoo said that he was troubled by the fact that while a negligible percentage of people on both sides of the border live in air-conditioned comfort, "in several parts of Mumbai and Karachi there are people who live on footpaths." According to him, the situation will only worsen since the two countries, having become nuclear powers, will be spending a substantial chunk of their meagre resources on defence, thus depriving their people of basic necessities.

Janoo, who said that he was not in a position to speak about the presence or absence of a political will to solve the issue since he was not a politician, however predicted that if the two governments do not show the will to solve the issue, "a day will come when the people will say, 'Go to hell with all your atomic power.. give us bread and butter.' That day they will smash all the governments."

"With Kashmir out of the way," said Janoo, "just imagine the miracles we can achieve on the trade front." India has a very good industrial base and Pakistan has the market. "We have been importing wheat, dyes, chemicals and machinery from all over." According to him, the governments of both the countries owe it to

their people to lead their countries into the next century as "dignified, honoured nations".

Anita Ghulam Ali, a well-known educationist and former Education Minister in the Sindh Government, who is currently the managing director of the Sindh Government Educational Foundation in Karachi, blames the British for leaving "a bone of contention" behind them. "As I grow older, I increasingly believe that the British played a very dirty game with both our countries, not only on Kashmir but on other things too... to ensure that we were left fighting each other for a long, long time." Wondering whether this was the British way of ensuring that they would always be remembered, she categorically said that unless the two countries solved the Kashmir issue, there could be no real future for them. Maintaining that circumstances would force them to find a solution, she said: "There are only two ways of looking at it. Either you develop economic relations and this will improve the political relations, or *vice versa*."

The argument that improving bilateral trade and economic cooperation between the two countries will in turn improve political relations is one that the hawks in Pakistan are not willing to buy. Editorials in the Pakistani media are scornful of this argument, which they describe as "Indian". Angry questions are being asked about how India could expect to improve its economic relations with Pakistan until the "central" issue of Kashmir is solved.

Writing in *The Washington Post*, Dr. Maleeha Lodhi, Editor of the Pakistan daily *The News*, advances the argument that while "India's nuclearisation is status-driven, Pakistan's is security-driven." Coming down heavily on the "U.S.-led international community", she wrote that the longer it "persists on a course of censure and sanctions, the greater the odds for quicker weaponisation and deployment, which neither country is

as yet irrevocably pledged to do." "Isolating a region bristling with tensions, long-standing enmities and nationalist fervour to stand up to Western nuclear discrimination, is a recipe for more steps up the nuclear ladder. With punishment posing as policy, this could encourage a no-holds-barred nuclear competition and act as a disincentive to both Pakistan and India to exercise restraint."

Predictably enough, the Pakistani media are always alert for voices within the Indian media that advance an argument contrary to the official government line. It is therefore not surprising to find an editorial comment in *The Statesman* stating that India should "announce that the government will exhume the nearly five-decade-old U.N. proposal to hold referendum on the question of the valley's territorial loyalties" finds an honourable mention in a Pakistani newspaper.

Daily statements from Pakistan's top leadership, especially Prime Minister Nawaz Sharif, about Pakistan's ability to defend its sovereignty with its new nuclear identity are only to be expected since political rhetoric is so essential for a Government that is drawing flak from its people for the country's financial crisis.

However, what is worrying is the fact that along with the euphoria over the blasts, which is not lacking on the Indian side either, there seems to be a triumphant feeling that Pakistan has at last succeeded in focussing the international community's attention on the Kashmir issue. There is also a prevalent feeling that more and more nations are veering towards the Pakistani point of view that ties between India and Pakistan can be improved only if the Kashmir issue is solved.

As for the underprivileged and uneducated people of Pakistan, they are consistently being fed a diet of hype that Pakistan is the first Islamic nation to explode a nuclear bomb.

Today, Sharif may be asking the Islamic world's aid to help Pakistan tide over its financial crisis, but tomorrow, if any of the Islamic nations, however rich, require a nuclear bomb, they will have to knock on Pakistan's door. It is this line of argument that scares you more than the reports datelined 'Held Kashmir' that talk about *zulm* and *shaheeds*.

11

Modern Era

Maharaja Pratap singh's accession to the gaddi is a landmark in the history of modern Kashmir. During his ling reign of forty years several properly assessed and fixed in cash for a definite number of yeas and the share claimed by the State was greatly reduced. A first-rate cart-road down the Jhelum Valley and another over the Banihal Pass were built, linking the Valley with the rest of India. Heavy taxes on trade were reduced. Increased, though not sufficient, attention was paid to education. A scheme for drainage of the Valley, reclaiming waste land and preventing floods was put into operation. Srinagar. Jammu and a few more towns were electrified.

The administrative machinery was completely overhauled and a humble beginning was made in giving representation to the people in the two municipalities of Srinagar and Jammu.

Maharaj Pratap Singh

All this was 'achieved with the help and prompting of the British Resident who was appointed immediately on the death of Maharaja Ranbir Singh. From that date the conduct of the internal administration of the State, and the watch and ward of its northern and eastern frontiers became directly the concern of the British Indian Government. How they succeeded in gaining this dominating position is a sad but interesting story of political intrigue and based diplomacy.

Two factors were directly responsible for this development—the new Maharaja's unimpressive figure and indifferent health, and the legacy of the vigorous forward policy of Lord Lytton's Viceroyalty. At a time when Afghanistan and its northern frontiers were being subjected to the onslaughts of the rising wave of Tsarist Russia, the British in India were in no mood to respect the treaty obligation, with a princely State which they considered to be their own creation.

Born at Riasi in 1850 A.D., Pratap Singh received education in Dogri, Sanskrit, Persian and English. In. his youth he was entrusted by his father with the duties of hearing petitions from people and passing suitable orders in consultation with some of his experienced officials. In this way he got acquainted with the working of various departments of administration. When Lord Ripon visited Kashmir in 1881, Pratap Singh was deputed to receive his at the border and to look after his comforts. In all these assignments Pratap Singh showed his capacity for hard work and intelligent planning. But his unimpressive physique and and short-and his submissive nature weighed heavily against him, and there were misgivings about Pratap Singh's ability to govern efficiently.

The fateful year 1885 which coincided with Maharaja Pratap Singh's accession to the gaddi was surcharged with tension on the north western frontiers of India. Lord Dufferin on his assumption of the Viceroyalty of India was faced with the problem of the demarcation of the northern boundary of Afghanistan with Tsarist Russia. During the negotiations over the disputed boundary line, occurred the famous "Panjdeh Incident" which brought Russia and Indeed when the news came that the Russian General Komar off had attacked and driven out the Afghan garrison of Ponjdeh, hardly any responsible person in England at the time thought that the danger

could be averted. "Popular opinion was greatly inflamed against Russia, there was something approaching a panic on the stock exchange, the Conservation opposition were clamorous for strong action, and Gladstone, the Liberal Prime Minister, speaking of the situation as one of extreme gravity, asked for and readily obtained a vote of credit for eleven millions".

Though the 'Panjdeh Incident' ended peacefully, it convinced the British of the importance of strengthening their control on the frontier regions, and thus Kashviolets, various kinds forest production, hemp, tobacco, water nuts and paper formed the state monopoly. The right to legalize marriages was farmed out and it is said that the office of grave-digger was also taxed. Without going into details it may be said that nearly everything save air and water was brought under taxation.

It is not, therefore, surprising that "in 1889, the Kashmir State was bankrupt. The rich land was left uncultivated, and the army was employed in forcing the villagers to plough and sow, and worse still, the soldiers came at harvest time; and when the share of the STate had been seized and these men of war had helped themselves, there was very little grain to tide the unfortunate peasants over the cruel winter, when the snow lies deep and temperature falls below zero."

So when in 1989, Sir Walter Lawrence was entrusted with the settlement of the Valley, he found the work not only enormous, but a powerful opposition of the privileged official class and lazy city people ready to sabotage his efforts. The work of settlement had in fact been taken in hand two years earlier by mr. A. Wingate, but he had to give it up in the face of bitter opposition and intrigue. Sir Walter, however, persisted and completed the work in the he Valley by 1893. By the year

1912 practically every Tehsil and district in the STate was either settled for the first time or in revision.

The main features of the settlement, as finally effected by Lawrence, were :

i) The STate demand was fixed for fourteen years;

ii) Payment in cash was substituted for payment in kind;

iii) The use of force in the collection of revenue was done away with;

iv) Begar or forced labour in its more objectionable form was abolished;

v) Occupancy rights were conferred on cultivators in undisputed lands;

vi) The area of privileged holders of land in excess of the sanctioned area was assessed at ordinary rates;

vii) Waste-lands were entered as Khalas, but preferential rights for acquisition of such lands by tenants was granted;

viii)Permanent but non-alienable hereditary rights were granted to those who accepted the first assessment;

ix) All land was carefully evaluated on the basis of produce, previous collection and possibility of irrigation; and

x) The Rasum and other exactions were abolished and the rents and liabilities of cultivators were defined.

At the conclusion of Lawrence's beneficial and memorable work, the Maharaja, against the wishes of his countries, wrote off arrears of land revenue amounting to thirty-one lakhs of rupees.

The remission of arrears and the abolition of objectional forms of Begar or forced labour, freed the

peasantry from a hauning fear which had fallen to its lot for generations.

The genesis of the pernicious system of Begar has already been mentioned. Surrounded by high mountain barriers and having no roads fit for wheeled carriages, there developed the system of carriage of goods on human back over the high passes or in the Valley. By and by the administration assumed the powers of levying corvee in various ways. Begar came to mean to the Kashmiri far more than the mere impressment of labour, for under its comprehensive name was included every kind of demand for labour of property taken but not paid for by the officers. The custom became widespread during the Afghan and Sikh times and continued in an unable form till Maharaja Gulab Singh's time. The feeble attempts made by the latter towards mitigating some of its rigorous practices, however, did not improve matters. The famine of 1877-79 denuded the villages of most of their inhabitants and consequently there was a great pressure on the slender labour resources of the Valley. The building of the Gilgit road and provision of supplies to its garrison, demanded a large number of labors who can only be recruited to this work by force. The proper cultivation of the soil, and of their chief staple, rice, are of so exacting a nature that great damage can be caused if the cultivators are kept away too long from the villages. But inspite of it the city had secured exemption on one pretext or the other. "Gilgit", writes Lawrence, "is to the Kashmiri a constant terror, and when it was rumored that transport was wanted to convey the baggage of the troops going to or coming from Gilgit there was a general stampede among the villagers. I have seen whole villages bivouacking on the mountains when the agents for the collection of transport arrived in their Tehsil, and I have seen inhuman punishment dealt out to men who demurred to leaving their homes for two or three months

with the prospect of death from cold or starvation. I have seen villagers maimed from frostbite or shriveled or paralised from exposure to cold, and it is no marvel that the Kashmiris should loathe the very name of Gilgit." With the increasing number of European visitors to Kashmir, the requisitioning of labour at nominal wages became extensive.

The State Government at the persistent requests of the Resident finally decided in 1891 to abolish Begar. But at the same time it was felt that the transport arrangements of the Valley would collapse. The BEgar had prevented any labouring class to grow and it would take at least a few years for it to come into existence. To tide over the period of transition, a scheme of Begar at once, and at the same time prevent a collapse of the transport system.

The Author of this schemes was Sir Walter Lawrence. Requisition of forced labour for government officials was abolished forthwith, and the completion of the Gilgit road, carriage of goods to Gilgit by forced and unpaid labour was also done away with. The State Council framed elaborate rules for controlling the labour required for carriage of essential commodities in the STate by labourers. In a resolution passed on 13th April, 1891, it was laid down that an additional cess at one anna in Jammu and half an anna in Kashmir for every rupee of land revenue paid by cultivators be levied to meet the cost of a Transport Department and a force of 1,000 labourers and 200 pack ponies to be permanently employed. A labourer was to be paid Rs. 5/- per month.

The working of the new schemes was reviewed in 1906 and it was further modified in that the rate of wages was increased to Rs. 8/- per month and as by that time voluntary labour was forthcoming, the use of force in recruiting it was given up. It was only in 1920 that the Begar was abolished completely.

Development of Road Communication

The need for enforcing Begar for carriage purposes abated considerably with another revolutionary undertaking, namely the building of a first-rate cart road down the Jhelum Valley linking Srinagar with Rawalpindi, the nearest rail-head 200 miles away. Previous to this, as Sir Walter Lawrence writing in 1980 tells, there was an absence of roads fit for wheeled traffic in the Valley. Expect low trollies resting on wheels, roughly fashioned from the round trunk of trees and used for carrying cops, there was no other kind of wheeled carriage in Kashmir.

By the end of the 19th century, Kashmir had acquired an importance in the context of the Anglo-Russian strategy in Asia. The British were menaced by Russian advance in Central Asia, "and it was necessary," observes Biscoe, "that we should have a road for our troops in order to resist, if necessary, any attack from that quarter." The British Indian Government controlled the administration of the State through their Resident. It was then that the project of linking up the Valley by a cart road with the rail-head at Rawalpindi—an important cantonment - was carried through.

The great work, commenced in 1980, was completed in September, 1980, when Maharaja Pratap Singh was driven through from Baramula to Kohala on the borders of his State. The Resident entrusted the work to a British-owned firm of contractors, Spedding, Mitchel and Co., who bringing in European engineers and several hundreds of Pathans and other labourers, completed the difficult job in record time. The distance from Rawalpindi to Srinagar took only four days to cover in a tonga ; and heavy goods, carried in bullock-carts, reached Srinagar in twenty days.

The traditional route over the Banihal Pass through

whose defiles kings and armies had crept during the Mughal and Sikh times, naturally fell into disuse and neglect. This had an adverse effect on the trade between the two major regions of the State—Jammu and the Valley. It was in 1912 when powers had been partly restored to the Maharaja that one of his far-sighted ministers,Dr.A. Mitra,worked a plan to construct a cart road over the Banihal.Work was begun in 1913 and the first vehicale,a horse-drawn carrige,crossed over in 1915.Srinagar was thus directly linked with Jammu, 200 miles away. The railway line had already been extended from Sialkot to Jammu in 1890.

The Banihal Cart Road as it was then called remained a private road of the Maharaja and special permit was required to travel over it. In July, 1922,however the Maharaja issued an order throwing open the road to the public. Both these roads are great feast of engeneering skill and together they made 400 miles of hill road—the longest in the world.

Along with the building of the jhelam valley and Banihal roads, many former briddle—path in the valley were converted into roads for cart traffic. Telegraph lines, originaly laid during Maharaja Ranbir Singh's regin, were extended to all the important towns in the valley and to Gilgit and Ladakh. Telephone connection between Jammu and Srinagar was also set up.

The opening up of the valley had naturally far reaching political and economic effect on the life and culture of its inhabitants. So far living in seclusion, they now come in close and direct contact with the people living in tthe rest of India.

A conspicous result was the increasing influx of European and Indian tourists to the Valley. The fame of Kashmir's scenic beauty and salubrious climate had already travelled to distant corners of the world, and the

prophercy of G.T.Vigne, who visited the valley in 1885,that "Kashmir will become the sine qua non of the oriental traveller"was nearly coming true. Efforts were made both by the Imperial Goverment in Calcutta and poltical parties in England to bring pressure on the Maharaja to allow Europeans to acquire and land in Kashmir with a view to turning it into a colony for British retired officers to setttle in. But the Maharaja, backed by the leading nobles of the valley, stubbornly opposed the move.

The houseboat

To this ban may be attributed the devlopment which has become an unique instition in Kashmir. Due to lack of accommodation suited to them, the visitors, whose number was increasing year after year, were put to great inconvenience and as the Maharaja's Goverment woulllld not allow them to own or build house in Kashmir, the dooga, an indigenous boat was by and by transformed into a modern houseboat. But the credit for building the first houseboat strangely enough goes to a member of the Kashmiri pandit, a comunity which had from ancient times nothing to do with the protession of boat building or boatmen.

Pandit Narindas came of a respectable family and one of the first five Kashmiris to learn English from Rev. Doxey, the founderof the famus Kashmir mission school in 1881. Declining to enter the traditional profession of quill-driving, he,after leaving the school,set up a small store to cater tto the needs of the European visitors. But unfortunately his shop was burnt down and finding it difficult to obtain a suitable shop he removed whatever he could save from the fire anto a doonga. To his agreeable surprise he found that a doonga served as a better shop since it could be moored at a convieneint and central place to the visitors. But rain and snow played

havoc with his stores and he got an idea of having planks and shingle to replace the matting walls and roof of the doonga. When the first boat was ready and afloat, an officer took a fancy to it and purchased it at a handsome profit. Pandit Naraindas found that boat building was a better businnes proposition than running a European store and soon he become the priemer boat-builder of Kashmir, his yard turning out manny a fommous and wel-biult boat. His idea was later on improved upon by Colonel R.Sartorius, V.C.,Sir R.Harvey, Bart, and Mr.Martyn Kennard. The latter built the famous two-storied houseboat," Victory", in 1918 which is still standing majestically on the river at Raj Bagh and luxuriously furnished houseboats were built and owned by Europeans. The Indian visitor accustomed to living on land and away from waterways is rather out of elementwhen hhe and his family have to spend a summer holiday in a houseboat.

Most of these houseboats are from 65 to 95 feet in the length and about 14 feet in widht. They are partitioned into a sitting, a dining a two or three bedrooms and a pantry with the required number of bathrooms and lavatries. They are eqiupped with modern furniture and many have sanitry fittings as well. The ventilation and lighting is ample, thanks to large glazed windows and doors. The ceiling are invariably of the Kashmiri Khatamband type, made of tiny, thin, carved peices of wood arranged in beautiful geomatrical patteren. The walls and partitions are built of grooved and framed panels fixed to the post runing from the bottom to the roof. The is covered with corrugated iron sheets over which a flat deck is made of wooden planks and carved railings. This deck is aceesible by a staircase running up from the plantry. The boats are built os decoder wood are rarerly painted, the natural colour and grain and the sweet fragrance of the wood lending a charm of it own to the houseboat.

The devlopment of rapid and easy means of communication no doubt bestowed mainfold blessings on the people of the valley, but there came also its concomitant evils.The two roads with a growing traffic resulted in an increased import of diseases, particularly cholera, for cholera like trade , travels by road. Epidemics become more frequent and combined with the in sanitanry and squalid conditions which prevailed in the city and town, took a heavy toll of life. Due to insufficient diet and supperrion of human liberty under the Afgans, Slkhs and early Dogra rulers,the vitality of the people had been undetermined and they fell an easy victom to cholera and other diseases. The worst epidemic was in 18992 when over ten thousand people died of it in the valley. writes Lawrence: "I was in camp during the epidemic, and moved through some of the most infected centers, and it belive that owing to the panic which set in, the registration in the districts was not so careful as it mey have been in the city, and that 5,931 deaths does not represent nearly the total mortalitry from cholera in tyhe village. Terrible gaps have been left in many families and villages which I know." Epidemics of cholera occured later in 1896,1902,1906-07 and 1910 and an outbreak of plauge in 1903-04.

Vigorous measures were taken to prevent the recurrence of epidemics by sanitating Srinagar and making avialable to the citizens clean and wholesome pipe-water. Roads and streets in the city were winded and paved, latrines built and arrangements for scavenging made.Vaccination against small-pox was first introuced in 1894.

As mentioned earlier, the church mission society of england set up a medical mission in Kashmir during Maharaja Ranbir Singh's regien. With thier selfless zeal, the two Neve brothers rendered medical aid to suffering humanities in Kashmir. Later the state goverment under

the advice of the Resident opened a well-equipped hospital in srinagar with Dr.A.Mitra as its first Chief Medical

Officer Dr. Mitra with his untiring effort was also responsable for establishing a municipalty in Srinagar and opening a number of hospital and dispensaries all over the state. A zenana hospital was opneaned in Srinagar and another in Jammu. With the growth of education among the people and the extension of medical facilities, the incidence of epidemics was considerably reduced.

Flood protection measures

The people whose material resources were on the increases with the dawn of the twentieth centuary had,however, to contend with another natural clamity which periodacally visited the valley. It has already been mentioned taht the formation of the valley makes it liable to heavy floods. During the Dogra rule there occured sevsral serious floods particularly in 1893 and 1903. The latter resulted from a heavy rainfall which continuied for 48 hours in the month of july bringing down enormous quantities of melted snow from the surrounding mountain and in its wake causing destruction to life and property.

The expansion of Srinagar had started hapliazard way's. The low-lying land towards the south had devloped into civil lines where there were European shops and hutments. The flood of 1903 swept away this locality and the Residient,Sir Luis Dane, decided to undertake flood protection measures on a long terms basis. The State Manegar, Mr.Field, in collaboration with the Electric Engineering, Major A.de Lotbiniere were detailed to prepare a comprehansive scheme in this respect. After a survey of several months they submitted thier note and chief recommendations.

These engineers seemed to have followed strictly the measure taken by Suyya 1200 years ago. They recommoded that to give a quiker and wider outlet to the flood waters of the valley, the bed of the river from the wulkar lake to generate at Mahora sixteen miles lower down. It is interesting to know that originally this power house which later on supplied electricity to the city was meant exclusively for the dredging operations.

Another important recmodation of the engineers was to dig a spill channel fron above Srinagar to a point 15 miles below it towards its west. This they thought would carry a large amount of flood waters and would definitely help in saving the city from destruction.

In 1905-06 the machnery required for the hydro-elestric generated plan at Mohara and the dedgers for deeping of the river at completed by the end of 1907. Incidentially it may be mentioned here that was the second hydro-electric project then in india, the first one being in Mysore.

Dreding operation begun in 1908 and 1912 an area of 6,100 acres was reclaimed from round the round the Wulkar lake. It was alloted to cultivatotors for paddy cultivation.

Fortunately for the valley there were no major floods for a quater of a centuary. The dredging operations, through valuable in their own way, werelooked upon by the State as useless expenditure and in 1917 the dredgers were sold as junk. The result was that the old story of siliting up of the river bed in the Wulkar lake was repeated and when in 1928 there was a flood towards the end of August, the low lying parts of the city of Srinagar which had by then extended to a larger area were inundated and destruction was caused to the standing crops. Agian the State Goverment woke up to taking flood protection measures, but instead of having a long

term view of the situtationn they startted again to build high bunds round the low lying parts of Srinagar—the chief aim being to save the city at the coast of the rest of the valley.

With the return of stabilaty in land tenture the devlopment of communications, adoption of flood protection measures and prevention of epidemics, there was a rapid increase in population by 1911. But in a place so predominantly agriculture and with such limited scope for increase in culticvable area and equally restricted sphere of expansion of agriculture, the need for indrustilization to relive the pressureon land was becoming imperative. True, the Kashmir goverment built a number of canals and repaired several which had fallen into disuse, but the increase in population. The result was an acute shortage of food

stuffs towards 1918. The State goverment, after long deliberations and trail of several schemes, finally adopted the old system of collecting a part of land revenue in kind and distributing it to the city population at a cheap rate. Thus came into beign the Food Control Department which has ever since handlled the collection and distribution of food grains in the Valley.

The scheme had two object in view . While on the one hand, it sought to come to the rescue of the poor peasent by advancing him cash for payment of land revenue, on the other hand it sold the paddy recovered from the peasent during the harvesting seasons to the citizens of Srinagar at a nominal profit. An efficient card system was deviced for distribution of paddy to the citizens at the rate of 42 lbs. per head per month. Well designed grainzes were erected at Srinagar for storing a year's supply of grain. This system worked admirabelly well and stood the stress of rising prices even during the second world war.

But even with this satisfactory control over the distribution of food. Stuffs in the valley the standard of life of the people was exterimly low. A very large number of peasents moved in winter to the Punjab to work as labourers at miserably low wages and suffered humilation and hardship. Many of them died every year in places far off from thier homes. Kashmiri was the synonym for poverty and want

With the development of popular tourism, there came some relief as there was an increased demand for greator production of artistic articles for which Kashmir was famous from ancient times.Tourism benefitted boatman, traders, and servants who worked each summer for the tourist trade.

Sericulture too gave empoloyment to a large number of workers in Srinagar, and to numerous peasent who reared the silk worms in their homes during thier spare time. This ancient industry was dead during the Afgans rule and continued to be so under the Sikhs. Maharaja RanbiSingh attempetted to retrive it. But it was only after the accession of Maharaja Pratap Singh to the GAddi that serious effort were made to set up the industry and run it on a commercial scale and in a scientific and extensive manner. Seed was imported from Italy and france distributed among the ppeasent for rearing cocoons. A factory with large filatures containing over 300 basins for reeling cocoons was set up in Srinagar in 1907 and by 1921 the factory was having five filatures with over 1500 reeling and 760 cooking basins. Over fifty thousand rearers of silk worm in the village and 5,000 labourghed in the factory at Srinagar produced over one lakh kilograms of raw silk annually.

The supreme control of the state's administration by the government of india encourgement of several Euopean businessmen and entrepreneurs to try to secure

land and othe r conssion in the Valley for the explortion of its mineral wealth. Vigne had written nearly a centuary earlier that "the tools of a cornish miner may bring to light the hidden treasures of its iron, lead, copper and silver ores."

In 1901, one Major Anderson formed a firm called the Kashmir Mining Compony and aplied for and was given an exploring liscence for the new Mining Rule for prospecting in Reasi and Rajouri. In 1907 he secured a mining an dprospecting licence for the saphire mines of Padar in Bhadawah Tehsil. He succeeded in exarcting that year saphires worth over 19,000 rupees. During the nexttwo years he obtained saphries to the gross value of Rs.105,000, out of which he paid 30 percent in royalty.

In 1908 a compony named Kashmir Iron Mines and Power Syndicate, Ltd., was floted in London by the Earl of Errol, Viscount Church, Sir Robert Herman Hodge and others. Kord Errol and Major Hamilton visited Kashmir in 1907 and applied tot he State goverment in the name of thier compony to garnt them a ninety- nine year's lease of a largeof a large area in Jammu for the purpose of mining, laying a railway and installing a power station. The Maharaja who quickly relised the real motive of those gentlemens evaded the question of granting thier request till the Mining Rule were framed and published although the resident intervended several times. The promoters of the company finding the rules very unfavourable to thier projects, did not pursre the matter further. The Kashmir goverment there upon set its own Department of mining for surveying and prospecting of the mineral resources of the state.

But in the case of improving the indigenous fruiot of Kashmir, and introducing the European varities, credit goes entirely to french experts. The fact that there were possibilities of turning Kashmir into an orchard

producing different kinds of delicate fruits and vegetables, was noted by all the Euoropean travellers from Bernier to vigne. The story of modern horticulture in Kashmir is interseting valley for the purchase of shals. One of these agents, M.Dauvergne, who wasin Kashmir from 1865 to 1882 observing the grape vines growing wild in the valley, concived the idea of making winefor his own consumption. Newa of his experiment reached Maharaja Ranbir Singh who asked M.Dauvergne to continue the manufacturing process on behalf of the State Goverment. The frenchmen explained that unless the quality of vines was improved and better varities imported from Europe and an expert in making wines and cognac called from France, the wine making industry could not be satisfactorily improved.

M.Ermens, formerly head gardner of public works in paris, who was approched through the school of horticulture at Versailles, came to Kashmir and made a through investigation of the soil, cimate, rainfall and other condition preaviling in the state. He submitted a report for omportang hvarious varities of grape vines. Being a gardner by bprpofession, M.Earmens brought with himself considering number of fruit plants which he belived would thrive in Kashmir, together with implements for starting an experimental agriculture farm.

The vine cutting and fruit trees were planted in Chashma Shahi in 1875 and four year later, whgen the grapes were plucked, M.Ermens experimented in making wine, but not being a distiller himself, his efforts did not meet with success. He recommended the securing of the services of two more expert—one to take charge of vineyyards and the othe rto undertaking the manufacturing procer. These positions were filled by M.Bouley and M.Peychuad repectively.

These experts, however, althought that in the

absence of a cart road linking the valley with rest of India, wine manufacturing indusrty could not be run profitablly. They, however, relised the abundant scope for the production of high class fruit of European type. M. Bouley retried in 1887 and M.Peychaud continued the work alone. With the help of sardar roop singh, then Governer of the valley, he collected during the winter months of 1886-87 about twenty-five thousand wild fruit stocks, andthis was the begning of a nurseary which has provided of incalculated benefit to the State. Grafted fruit plans were subsequently distributed to the State orchards. The State established a Deapartment of Agriculture and Horticulture in 1907 and 1908 a member from Kashmir sat in the Board of Agriculture of the Goverment of India. The fruit industry has flourised since then and with the passage of time has acquried a leading position in the export trade of Kashmir.

A stable government and the measures taken for promoting peoples welfare, resulted in a phneomenal growth of population in the valley. Wheras in 1891 when the first census was conducted in the State, teh population of the Valley including Muzaffrabad was only 814,241, it rose to 1,407,086 in 1921. The progress in various fields was not, however, achieved without the indigenous inhabitants paying a heavy price in the loss of hteir liberty, and bearing of contumely and disrespect from the arrogant bands of officers and clerks imported wholesale from the Punjab to run the administration.

For, one of the first orders issued by the State Council on its installation in 1889 was to change the court language from Persian to Urdu. This sudden and ruthless change took the old State official by surprise, and being dubbed as incompetent and corrupt they were thrown out of job. With three Members of the Council hailing from the Punjab, the administrative vacancies were quickly filled up with the Punjabis and this influx

continued till 1925, when the Maharaja had, following relentless pressure from the inhabitants of the State, to stop it by decree.

Opposition to the sudden changeover from Persian to Urdu came almost immediately from the people. But since the resident was weilding unlimited powers, it was a cry in the wilderness. The poor Kashmiri, illiterate and leaderless, could not command a hearing. Patently, however, he bore all the abuses that were heaped upon him. I think that many of the hard things said about the Kashmiris, wrote Sir Walter Lawrence are due to the fact that the official interpreters of their character have been foreigners, often grasping and corrupt, always unsympathetic. Mughal Subhedars and Pathan Sirdars dismissed all difficulties of administration and all humane suggestions emanating from their masters with the remark that the Kashmiris were dishonest, treacherous and Zulum parast.

Education

With the passage of time and increase in the number of youngmen educated in the schools teaching English, there grew and acute bitterness between the inhabitants of the state and the Pubjabi officials who has occupied every position of vantage in the administration of the state.

The education of the pattern imparted by schools and colleges ithe rest of the country began late in the stae. The mission school, the first to follow the University syllabus, was originally established by the Rev. J.S. Doxey in 1881, with only five boys on its roll. The good missionary content at having made a beginning and confident of its expansion persevered in his labours for two years after which he was succeedede by the Rev. J. Hinton Knwles who worked hard, and with his untiring zeal and fact the school made rapid progress. In 1892

when he handed over charge to Rev. C. Tyndale Biscoe, the number on the roll was over 500. The school made sustained progress under Rev. Biscoe and produced boys not only educated in English and other subjects, but moulded inthe best traditions of an English Public School.

The State School, a siste istitution, run by the stae government was established originally by Maharaja Ranbir Singh in 1874, but it was a school in which education was imparted in Sanskrit and Persian. In 1886 Dr. A. Mitra raised the status of this institution to a regular scholl introducing English teaching and imparting education according to the University curriculum. Both the schools turned out a large number of matriculates every year who clamoured for goverment jobs, to be given to them in preference to the Pubjabis. The presistent representation of the people, backed by the Maharaja, to the Government of India, resulted in instructions being issued to the state to give preference to the Mulkis overthe outsiders inthe matter of employment. But the instructions were vague and very soon all those whose relations were in government service declared themselves to be Mulkis. The struggle continued and in 1912 a definition f state subject was formulated for the first time. A state subject was one who had obtained on Ijazatnama or permission from the Mahraja;s government to own land. But anybody could secure this permission without any effort, and the influx of outsiders continued unabated.

But the Kashmiris had by then made further advance in education. Early in 1905 a college was established at Srinagar through the efforts of Mrs. Annie Besant and another at Jammu in 1908. Many youngmen passed through their portals having drunk deep at the fountain of Western political thought. The agitation over

Curzon's Partition of Bengal, the movements for political freedom in Turkey, Ireland and Egypt, the growing strength of the Indian National Congress, filled these young men with ideas of freedom and equality and several of them, notably Pandit Shankar Lal Kaul, carried on a relntless agitation in the Indian Press for Kashmiris to be exclussively employed to man the administration of the State. Ultimately, the state government yielded to the pressure of public opinion and accepted the principle of recruiting only Stae subjects to government posts.

This agitation was mainly carried on by the Kashmiri Pndits who had originally suffered from the changeover from Persian to Urdu and whose amin occupation was government service. It was this community particularly which took to the new education cources and very soon came up to the standard required for recruitment to the various categories of government service. But the Muslim community stil remained backward and the State did not take any active steps to encourage then to learn even the three R's. Nor did the British who rules the State through the Resident make any effort to push forward the Muslims on the path of literacy and education.

Political unrest

Meanwhile several influential Kashmiri Muslims settled in the rest of India, raised their voice against the policy of inaction followed by the state government with regard to educating the Muslims of the State. Finally in 1961, the Educational Commissioner wtih the Government of india, Mr. Sharp, was requested by the State government to make recommendations in the light of the conditions prevailing in the State. Mr. Sharp submitted his report after a through study of the problem, but though the Maharaja accepted his recommendations, his officials did

not implement them in the spirit in which they were made.

The Muslims were thus a frustrated community and in 1924 when the Viceroy, Lord Reading, visited the STate, some os the leading members of the community submitted a memorial to him demanding the grant of proprietary rights in land to be given to the peasants, a larger representation of Muslims in government service, improvement in the condition of Muhammadan education in the State; abolition of Begar in all its aspects; and the restoration of mosques in possession of the government. The Maharaja to whom full powers had been restored two years earlier was greatly incensed at the sunmission of the memorial to the Viceroy. This was ascribed to the general swing all over India towards communal politics engineered by the British. There were moreover some demonstrations in the State-owned silk factory in Srinagar and also pseudo-political disturbances in the city. But these were in an elementary stage and the Maharaja's government put them down with a firm hand. Some of the signatories to the memorial were exiled and their property confiscated. While the discontent was seething and there was an ominous calm indicating the coming of a storm, Maharaja Pratap Singh breathed his last in September, 1925. Having no male heir of his own, he was succeded by his nephew, Maharaja Hari Singh.

Intensely devoted to his religion, Maharaja Pratap Singh was a benevolent ruler. The SEcret of his popularity with the people was his accessibility to e humblest of his subjects. Possessing a remarkable memory, he followed the grievances of a petitioner and reprimanded the officer who neglected to redress them. He was genuinely anxious to see his people prosper, but at the same time he was jealous os permitting them to

form political or even religious societies or establishing a press. Addicated to opium, he was often made by his favourities and hangers-on to issue orders for which he later on repented, and which he tried to rectify or cancel.

Scarcely a day passed without some striking act on his part of generosity, benevolence and practical sympathy for those who were in trouble, and for righteous indignation for anything that was mean, cruel or oppressive. And it may rightly be said that te peace and security that the people enjoyed during his long reign were responsible for a growing consciousness of thier rights and privileges and served as a resting stage to launch their successful for the achievement of a democratic government in Free India.

New Kashmir

When on October 26, 1947, the Maharaja appealed to the Government General of India, Lord Mountbatten, for military assistance against the invaders, he revealed his intention of forming an interim government in which Sheikh Mohammad Abdullah would be associated with his Prime Minister. The decision of the Maharaja was dictated by the fact that to fight back the invasion successfully to required the whole hearted cooperation and suport of the masses, represented by their political organisation, the National Conference. The ensuing months proved that it was a wise decision.

Government

For, with his departure to jammu along with the entire council of ministers, on the night of October 26, the Vally was left without a government and there was thus an apprehension of widespread disorders and consequent chaos seizing the land. It was at this moment of grave crisis that the National Conference stepped in to fill the vacum. At once the district and Mohala Committees of the Conference took over the functions of local

administration and organised companies of volunteers to keep the peace and restore confidence among the people. Soon they had to face another problem, that or refugees pouring into Srinagar from the areas overrun by the raiders They had to be given shelter and food. The citizens volunteered to take in batches of refugees into their own homes and to feed them till better arrangements were made. The more difficult problem was to keep the masses well informed of the real intention of the raiders the complete enslavement of the people and not to be misled by their self-assumed title of 'liberators of Muslim Kashmir'. This become more complicated with the reports reaching the Valley of communal disturbances in Jammu, where the incoming Hindu refugees from outlaying district and West Pakistan had forced to Muslim to emigrate wholesale to pakistan. Fortunately, the communal peace and amity was not disturbed by these happenings and the masses kept steadfastly on to the path of communal harmony and of raising a united front against the invaders.

To this purpose, a small force of National Militia was raised and trained. The young recruits fired with patriotic zeal faced the invaders and at several points pushed them back. They naturally had to suffer casualties, but this did not reduce the steady flow of volunteers enrolling themselves in the Militia. After going through a short course of training they went to the front and fought side with their comrades-in arms from the rest of India.

The winter of 1947-48 was severe one, and immediately after the raiders were driven out beyond Uri, it snowed heavily, and the road and air communications between the Valley and the rest of India were completely cut. As already noted, Pakistan enforced an economic blocked of the State during the previous summer and there was an acute shortage of all essentials

of life in the Valley. Particularly did the people feel the 'want of salt which could not be had even for Rs. 10/- a seer. Similarly sugar, cloth, keresone and petrol were non-available. Efforts were made to bring in supplies from over the snow-bound Banihal pass on porters, but it was fight against Nature. The people with a grim determination bore these hardships and kept their morale high.

With the coming of spring the road link was again established with jammu. Supplies trickled through with the help of some old and rictkety trucks. Bakshi Ghulam Mohammem, however, soon got a fleet of new truck chaises from Bombay. The Kashmiri drivers worked day and night to keep the convoys moving with their precious load of the necessities of life lashed on to the hastily constructed plateforms on the truck chasis. Thus came into baing the Government Transport Department, which can now boast of hundreds of trucks, buses, cars; an efficient and uptodate workshop, and which now handles the major portion of goods and passenger traffic in the State.

The wholesale importeres had lost their business contacts following the upheaval in the Punjab, and the imports had to be financed by a coorporative store set up for this purpose.

With the returning normal conditions of life, other problems cropped up. The tourist trade had come to a standstill , the fruit and cottage industries of the Valley suffered due to lack of transport. There was thus widespread unemployment. The Indian Army, however, gave some relief by recruiting a labour force and purchasing suitable local goods essential for the prosecution of the campaign against the raiders. But it was of only a temporary nature. Trade had to be revived. A number of emporia were opened in various cities in

India, and trade commissions were set up to enable the exporters and importers of the State to re-establish their business contacts with the trade centres in India and abroad. In fact these measures profed a boon to the workman, as he could now dispense with the services of the middleman who had been expliting his so far. This silent revolution in the industrial and commercial set-up of the Valley, naturally gave birth to the industrial and multipurpose cooperative societies in the state, which inspite of corruption and inefficiency in the early stages of their life have become an essential part of the economic fabique of the people.

Meanwhile the fight against the invaders was going on with relentless vigour. The Emergency Administration rendered all-out assistance to the Army by providing civilian transport vehicles, pack-ponies, porters and labour. It built roads and bridges to enable a faster movement of troops. Accomodation for the army staff headquarters and for the troops on the march was provided in Government and private buildings. Above all the Administration and the National Conference kept up the morale of the people by their example and precept.n The Cultural front set up under the direct supervision of Kh. G.M.Sadiq, with its dramatic performances, posters and popular songs and ballads was responsible for rousing the masses to a redoubled effort in driving out the raiders fro the State.

As 1947 rolled out it was felt both in Kaashmir and New Delhi that the "dual administration" of the Prime Minister and the Head of Emergency Administration could not function soothly and therefore, the Maharaha conceded on March 5, 1948, full responsible government to the people. The Emergency Administration was converted into a regular Council of Ministers with Sheikh Abdullah as the Prime Minister.

The people had now every right to expect their popular government to implement the programme of social and agrarian reform as envisaged in the "New Kashmir" Plan. As an immediate relief to the peeasants the government enacted laws for the protection of the tenant. They could no lonter be ejeted from the land. Previously the tensnts had to provide seed and agricultural implements and give the landlord 50 per cent of the crop. Now he was allowed to retain two thirds of the production of paddy, pulses and other cash crops.

A moratorium was sdeclared on debts incurred hy the peasants and workers and with the institution of Debt Conciliation Courtrs old debts which were pressing heavily on the peasantry were scaled down by abot 80 per cent from 11.1 million to 2.4 million rupees. The peasants could also have reinstated their rights in mortagaged property.

In april, 1949, the government appointed a Land Reforms Committee to prepare a plan for the aboloshing of big landed estates and transfer of land to the tiller. The total cultivated area in the State was about 2,200,00 acres, mjost of which belonged to the Maharaja, his Jagirdars and a class of landlords called Chakdars. The landlords rented the land to the peasants under feudalistic conditions of tenure. They were paid by their tenants partly inh kind and partly in cash. Besides, there were Mukararis who received cash payments from the State treasury under various religious and non-religious titles. The latter privileges were aholished forthwith with the exception of some grants to religious endowments.

But before the Land Reforms Committee had prepared and submitted its sreport, Sheikh Mohammad Abdullah announced drastic and sweepng land reforms ij a speech from the National Conference platform. The assent of the Maharajha, the Head of the State, was not

obtained and this announcement had to be regularised later hy the enactmentof a law.

The landlord was allowed to keep not more than 160 Kanals of agricultural land, 8 Kanals of land for vegetable gardening, 4 Kanals as sresidental site and 10 Kanals of orcharde-altogether 182 Kanals. The exprepriated land was to be trasnferred in full ownership to the tenant to the maximum of 160 Kanals. He had to pay the regular land revenue. All land which were not under cultivation or not rented and in excess of 182 Kanals were transferred to the government for distribution to landless tillers or for collective farming. The question of payment of compensation, if any, was to be decided by the Constituent Assembly to be set up laster.

The reforms no doubt freed the peasant from the unbearable burden of complete economic dependence of the landlord. In practice, however, it did not fulfill its intended objective, namely allotment of land to landless peasants. Without formulation a regular plan and enacting a law, the leaders announced the outline of the scheme from public platforms to gain inor political advantages. When it became known that the landlords had to surrender their estate above 182 Kanals, there was a scramble among the more influential prasants for the would be expropriated land and the Patwaris entered into negotiations with tenants and other villagers on the method of sharing it. Ultimately when the law came into force, it was found that most of the disstributable land had already been allotted to non-deserving people. It was found that in many casses a tenant who shared in the distribution of his landlord's extra land was himself the owner of much larger area. The government did not moreover take into consideration the plight of those disaled persons and widows whose only means of livelihood was their land..

In the educational field the government took positive steps towards a revolutionary change in adopting the mother tongue of the bous as the medium of instruction in the primary classes. Multi-purposes schools besides impaarting educating in arts and sciences, gave instructions and practical lessons in handicrafts. More schools and colleges were opended, notably a woman's college in Srinagar. But the most important measure was the setting up of an University in the State

Education had made rapid progress in the State after 1931 and the number of students appearing in various University examinations was increasing in geometric progression. All the colleges in the State were affiliated to the Punjab University of Lahore. With the partition, the Indian part of the University had to face strenuous times and to set itself up from scratch. It naturally created a great difficulty for the students of the State. The Jammu and Kashmir University thus came into existence on November,1948.

The Central Government extended its helping hand in setting up the University. Apart from financial aid from the Government it received moral support from top ranking personalities in India. The first Convocation is 1949 was addressed buy Jawaharlal Nehru. Dr. Rajendra Prasad and C. Rajagopalachari addressed its Convocation is 1950 and 1951 respectively. The University started on its career as an examining body, but slowly its was transformed into a teaching University. In recent years it has expanded into Arts. Science, Medical and Engineering Faculties and has its own enclave in charming surroundintg on thre western bank of the Dal Lake.

For providing medical relief to the masses the government set up some more dispensaries. There was, however, a shortage of physicans and surgeons, and a

number of stsudents were given scholarship for studies in medicine at various Universities in India.

Assembly

But all these measures were taken by a government which derived its powers from the Maharaja. Though it enjoyed the support and confidence of the main political organisation in the State, it was felt that the weighty questions which had meanwhile croppled up could not be decided by the National Conference without referring them to the people. In October 1950, therefore, the General Council of the Conference passed a resolution asking for elections to a Constitutional Assembly for the purpose of giving to the State a Constituent Assembly on the basis of free adult franchise. The elections to the Constituent Assembly were accordingly held and the Assembly met for the first time in October, 1951.

Foreign correspondents and observere flocked to the State to witness the elections to this important body. The elections were conducted by an Election Commissioner appointed by the Yuvaraj who worked as the Regent of the Maharaja. The constituencies were delimited on the basis one member to forty thousand people. The franchies was based on universal adult suffrae and people were assured of a free and fair exercise of their vote.

All the 75 seats were won by the National Conference. There were only two contents in jammu, which were also won by the National Conference. The total number of rejections was 14 and of withdrawls 11.

There was, however, nothing surprising about this sweeping success of the National Conference. In the elections to the Praja Sabha convened by the Maharaja's administration, the Conference had captured successively all the Muslim seats thrown open to election . As far back

as 1934, when election to the Praja Sabha were held community-wise, and the Muslim Conference was under the then leadership of the National Conference, the parry had won 9 seats without a contest and for the rest of the Muslim seats its candidates were returned with overwhelming majority. In the 1938 election to the Praja Sabja, they won 19 out of 21 Muslim seats. In 1946, the National Conference boycotted and called upon the electorate to desist from participating in the elections held by the then government and the result was that not more than 8% of the electorate actually went to the polls.

The consituent Assembly had primarily been convened for three objects: Frameing a Constitution for the State and finalising administrative arrangements with the center: 2 Deciding the future of the ruling family; and 3 Passing a verdict on the land owners' claim to compensation following the abolition of big landed estates.

Regarding the last two itmes, the Constituent Assembly had no difficulty in coming to a quick decision. It forestalled the abolilition of monarchical system of Government in other Princely States in India. With the attainment of independece the institution of India Princes was becoming an anachronism and after acceding to the Indian Union, the princes by the force of public opinion, become constitutiona heads of their respective States. In 1951, however, they still wielded influence and power and retained some vestige of dynastic rule. In Kashmir, the conditions were different. For twenty years the peopel had been agitating for a democratic form of adminitration and monarchy in any form was unacceptable to them. The Constituent Assembly which represented the will of the people, therefore, decided tht the Head of the jammu and Kashmir State, to be called the Sadar-i- Riyasat, be elected by the Legislataive Assembly and hold office for a term of five years.

The assembly was equally emphatic over the non-payment of compoensation to land holders affected by the Abolition of Big Landed Estates Act. Since the State was not ia a position to pay from its exchequer huge sums of money to lanslords in compensation and since they had already got enough returns on capital investment and interest thereof, the Assembly decided tht no compensation need be paid to them. Cases of genuine hardship would, however, receive sympathic consideration from the Government.

For framing a suitable Constitution the Assembly appointed several sub-committees. But since constitution making was a slow process, it was decided that the Constituent Assembly should convert itself into the Legislature of the State till the new constitution was adopted.

The framing of a constitution for the State brought to light the fissibpaous tendencies encouraged by some of the leaders of the National Conference including Sheikh Mohammad Abdullah himlself. Originally.

All the Princely States had accepted to the Indian Union in the three objects of defence, foriegn relations and communications, retaining powers of internal rule in their hands. But with the rapid growth of political consciousness among their subjects, monarchy became anamolous in India and within the short span of three years all the States got merged and became after regional amagamation, the Constituent States of the Union. Jammu and Kashmir State, however, did not refuse with the Union but retained rights of autonomy, which was recognised by Article 370 of the Indian Constitution

Seikh Abdullah had thus a free hand to conduct the internal administration of the State. But with the loss of revenue due to the invasion and with a rapid increase in expenditure to finance the numerous development

projects, he was depeneding upon grants and subsidies from the centre. At the same time he was drifting away from the rest of India. This attitude of his was responsible for creating a strons opposition to his policies in Jammu and Ladakh.

In Jammu the opposition was sper headed by the Parishad, ad party which became vocal from 1949. It advocated the cause of the elements which has been adversely affected by the sweeping land reforms and other political and economic changes. In the numerous speches of Sheikh Abdullah against the Maharaja's rule, the jammu Dogrea came in for shart denunciation. To add fuel to the fire a few officials whom the government deputed to Jammu did not conduct themselves well. The net result of all this was that the Jammu masses began to get estranged from Kashmiris and it was as a direct result of that the Praja parishad gained popular suport in jammu. Deriving inspiration from the Bharatya Jan Sangh, the Praja parishad dedlared its opposition to a separate flage and Constitution for Kashmir because these would encourage fissiparous tendencies by keeping alive a feeling of separatism. For the future safety and security of Jammu and Kashmir with which the safety and security of India was linked, it though it essential that it should be brought fully under the Constitution of India by repealing Article 370 of the Indian Constitution.

A minor incident in connection with the hoisting of the Conference flag in a local college, led to a disturbs in Jammu as a result of which some parishad leaders were arrested and imprisoned. Subsequently it transpired tht these leaders had taken no active part in the demonstrations and through the personal remonstrances of the Indian States Minister, N. Gopalaswami Ayyangar, Sheikh Abdullah released them. But this "interference" provoked the Sheikh to make a speech at Ranbirshigh

pura, on April 10, 1952 in which he critized Indian for communalism and warned against applying the Indian Constitution to Kashmir in all respects.

The speech caused an uproar in the country and the subsquent reactions of the press in Indian set in motion a vicious circle which assumed sinister proportions at the passing of every day.

In the Valley there was popular resentment against the government due to the inefficient handling of the food problem. Unfortunately the failure of crops in 1949-50 and 1950-51 led to a grave crisis. The Government of India, however, poromptly came to the rescue of kashmir and despatched large quantities of rice and wheat to the Valley. But the distgributing agency- the Food Control Department- fell into the hands of some unscrupulous and greedy persons who sold a good portion of the grain into the black market. The food procurement drive added to the misery of the peasants who were forced to part with their stock of grain at nominal rates, while they had to purchase grain at eshorbitation prices to pay the Mujawaza . The people's patience was exhausted and when the Food Minister, Mirza Afzal Beg, rose to address a meeting of the National Conferece workers he was heckled and made to leave the conference room.

The working of the Co-operative Stores was also giving rise to discontent among the masses. All the essential comodities like cloth, sugar salr were distributed by thees stores, but according to the findings of a government committee of inquiry appointed in 1952-53, the Co-operatives completely collapsed because of "corruption and malpractices "of their directors and employees.

Seikh Abdullah and his adviser, Mirza Afzal Beg, in order to regain their hold on the masses of the Valley

began to play hot and cold towards India. It was with this background that a session of the Constituent the reports of three sub- committees set up in the previous session. Mirza Afzal Beg announced tht the Basic Principles Committee was of the opinion that the State should form a republic eithin the Republic of India. The Assembly adopted the principle of abolition of monarchy and of having an elected Head of the State.

The Constitutional deadlock thus created was finally sought to be resolved by mutual negotiationa between the Central and State Governments. The position of the State in the Union was settled in what is popularly termed as the Delhi Agreement announced on July 24, 1952. India agreed to give a special position and status to Kashmir in the Constitution whereby complete internal autonomy was assured to the State. The hereditary rular would be replaced by a Head of the State who would be elected for a term of five years. Fundamental rights that are guranteed by the Indian Constitutional were to apply to Kashmir, subject to the provision that they would not encroach upon the programming of land reform. The juridiction of the Supreme Court was to be limited, as regards kashmir, to inter-State disputes, fundamental rights and to matters of defence, foreign affairs and communications. The national flag of India was to be supreme. The emergency powers of the president of India were to apply in kashmir only "at the request of with the concurrence of the government of the Stata.

Seikh Abdullah alonce gave effect to the provisions of the agreement with regard to the Head of the State. On November 12, 1952, the Constituent Assembly in Srinagar formally adopted an amendment to the Constituent Assembly in Srinager formally adopted an amendment to the Constituent Assembly in Srinagar formally adopted and amendement to the Constituent replacing the Maharaja's rulership by that of an elected "head of the

State" sadr-i-Riyasat. Two days later the twenty-one year old Yuvaraj, the Prince-Regent, was elected to the office. His election was formally recognised by the President of India, and incidentally it brought to end the hereditary rule of the Dogra dynasty.

No further action was taken by the State government with regard to other provisions of the agreement particularly the transfer of control of the jurisdiction of the Supreme Court.

The Parishad thus got a handle to lauhc an agitation. Wholesale arrests were made made and in May 1953 the President of the Jan Sangh. Dr. S.P. Mookerjee, demonstratigely travelled to jammu where he ws arrested and detained in jail in srinagar. The following month his death there from a heart attack "raised a storm of indignation in India against the regime of Seikh Abdullah."

Events in Ladakh had taken a turn similar to jammu. The district, long neglected by the Degras, was slowly rising from its political slumber. Kushak Bakula, the head Lama, voiced the feelings of the people of Ladakh when he declared that tin the event of kashmir drifting away from India, the Ladakhis would sever their connection with the State and merge with the Indian Union.

These developments, created a psychological crisis in the mind of Sheikh Abdullah. He had already given out his idea on the Vally of Kashmir remaining an independent and neutral State. In formulating this idea he was encouraged by several foreign individuals. "On top of these reports" writers Korbal, "came the highly inflammatory rumours that the United States was backing the idea of Kashmir independence and tht Sheikh Abdullah had been encouraged in it when Adlai Stevenson had visited Srinager in May "pandit Nehru, howerver, declared later that "If ther is a modicum of

truth in them thatt is greatly exaggerated. I would say in the course of the last few weeks, in the course of the last few months and some time more, hard cases of this type of interference have come before us-individual interference. It would not be correct to clal it government interfere nce. It would not be correct to call it government interference, but individuals have not behaved properly, because again you must remember the basic fact that Kashmir is highly strategic area."

The political and economic situation in kashmir was in the early months of 1953 passing through a severe crisie. The people in general and the National Conference in particular were astounded at the change of attitude of Sheikh Abdullah towards the position of the State in the Indian Union. The Majority of the Working Committee members headed by Bakshi Ghulam Mohammed were opposed to the attitudew adopted by the Sheikh. The whole question was throughly discused in a marathon session of the Working Commitee extendintg to there weeks held in Srinagar in May. Sheikh Abdullah failed to convert the members to his point of view and a resolution endorsing the accession to India and supporting the Delhi Agreement was passed with a majority of fifteen against four votes.

An open rift developed in the Cabinet also. Three of the five members differed on the measures taken by the government in ameliorating the economic condition of the people and the slow implementation of the provisions of the Delhi Agreement.

The final act was precipitated by the Sheikh's demand for the resignation of a member of his Cabinet, Mr. Sham lal Saraf, the Development Minister. In his reply, Mr Safar refused to resign unless the whole Cabinet was dissolved and a new government formed. Finally on August 7, the three members, led by Bakshi

ghulam Mohammad, accused Sheikh Abdullah in a memorandum of making arbitrary decisions, of being responsible for deterioration in the administration, despotis, ineffiemency and wanton wastage of public uncertainty, suspense and doubt in the minds of the people of the state in general and of those in Jammu and Ladakh in particular, "stated the memorandum "All these factos have combined to strengthen the disruptionist forces seeking the disintegration of the State Under these circumstances, what seems inevitable is that interestee foreigh powers may well take advantage of and exploit the situation fort their own selfish purposes. We have been, continued the Memorandum "constantly urgin upon uou to put an end to these unhealthy tendencies and to undertake unitedly measures for restoring the morale of the people. In spite of our best intention, we have failed in our efforts. The memorandum informed Sheikh Abdulah, in conclusion, that the Cabinet had lost the confidence of the people.

A copy of this memorandum was submited to the sadar-i-Riyasat, who suggested an emervency meeting of the Cabinet under his President ship wherein the difference would be discussed and a solution found to them. Sheikh Abdullah refused the request and in the afternoon of August 8 : left on a weekend holiday for Gulmarg.

Meanwhile the Sadr-i-Riyasat faced with grave threat to the unity, Prosperity and stability of the State, by a serious rift in the Cabinet, acted promply and issued an order on August 8, 1953, dismissing Sheikh Abdullah from the Prime MInister ship of the State of jammu and kashmir and dissolving the Council of Ministers headed by him. On August 9, he invited Hamshi Ghulam Mohammed to form a new government whose "continueance in official will depened upon its securing a

vote of confidence form the Legislative Assembly during its coming session."

Bakshi Ghulam Mohammed accpted the invitation and was sworn in on the same day as Prime Minister.

The new Prime Minister immediately upon taking the oath of office broadcast his policy statement. He said that it had been a painful decision for them to part from their erstwhile colleagues, but in times of historic crisiswhen the fate of millions was at stake, personal relations and affections had to be subordinated to the paramount interests of the country. He narrated the course of events which led to the parting of the ways between them. "Recent developements have madde it abudantly clear to all of us that a betrayal of the country's interests and the traditions of our democratic struggle was in the offing, which would inevitabley have led to greve consequences. None of us could afford to watch complacently the repetition of the events whidh uprooted the lives of millions of people in the Indian sub-continent in 1947." The slogan of independence was higly misleading and there "should be no doubt as to the motive for sponsoring such an idea in the context of international developments in Asia and other parts of the world".

"An independent Kashmir", continued Bakshi Ghulam Mohammed, "under the influence of an imperialist power will be a grave threat to freedom and indepandence of Indian and Pakistani People. In view of the geographical position of the state, such independence is bound to involve us in a bitter and violent international controversy and another Korea may be staged here as a result of the armed conflict between interensted powers."

He then gave an objective survey of the State's accession to Indi which gave a position of security and

honourable status to a small state like Kashmir " with its poor resources, backward economy and complex geographical situtation. "He dellared that "the secular and democratic traditions and ideology of our national movement have established indisoluble links with the democratic movement in India. "He then mentioned that the key to the crisis lay in the deep- roooted economic discontent of the masss of the State. During the preceding five years "serious short comming in the handling of the economy of our state have led to some violent dislocations in a number of trades adn professions resulting in unemployment and under -employment, economic maladjustment and a heavy fall in the living standard of the people".

He then announced some amelirative measures to ease the economis distress. the Mujawaza leveel was abolished forthwith: the price of paddy reduced by Rs. 2/ - per Kharwar the Co-operatives were rto be reorganised and the government would allow repening of compoetitive retail shops: co-operative debts would be stayed in cass of genuine distress. His plicy would be to provided employment to villagers throughout the year, by developing cottage industries and a planning Commission would be appointed to devise ways and means for raising the productivity of the State.

Bakshi Ghulam Mohammed announced the abolition of education fees in schools and colleges from the primary to the post graduate classes. "Every effort", he stat ed, "will be made to develop our national language particularly Kashmirr, Dogri and Ladakhi. "He announced that the State Emporis would be recognised and cheap credit made available to hancicraftsman. Better amenities would be provided for tourists and the permit system would be abolished.

Born in 1907, Bakshi Mohammed, the new Prime

Minister started his carrer as a school teacher and was later employed by the all Indian Spinners Association. Here he had and opportunity of coming in contact with some of the close associates of Mahatma Gandhi, and having a through understanding of the Swadeshi Movement. He entered politics in they early twenties when he was arrested for taking part in thre moivement boycotting foreign goods. In 1931 he threw himself whole heartedly into the national struggle and had to suffer in the repression which followed. It was due to his organising ablities tht the National Conference developed into a well knit, extensive and wide spread organisation in the State. During the 1946 'Quit Kashmir' Movement he went to India to work for and direct the movement an when finally Kak had to go he returned to Kashmir in triumph.

When the Pakistah inspired invasion took place Bakshi rose to the occasion and by his untiring efforts organised a people's resistance against the raiders. By his wise untiring efforts organised a people's resistance against the raiders. By his wise handling of the situation following the Maharaja's departure for Jammu, he prevented panic spreding among the people and the way he kept the whole Vally under control is a tribute to his populirity and his genious for organisation.

In the first popular government formed by Seikh Mohammed Abdullah, Bakshi Ghulam Mohammed occupied the position of Deputy Prime Ministership. His entire attention was deveted to the organisation of the Militia, the Transport Department and the development of cottage and other industries. Bakshi Ghulam Mohammed gained immense populirity as Deputy Prime Miniter with his easy accessibility. A man of the poeople, Bakshi was known for his rugged common sense and quick decision.

As was to be expected there were outbursts of anger among a section of the people in the Valley, followeing Sheikh Andullah's arrest, the demonstration being engineered by the personal followers of the Sheikh. But very soon the situation cme under control and with the quick relisation of the implecation of the 'independent Valley' idea by the general mass of the people, life returned to normal through out the State. In fact in September a convention of the workesrs and representatives of the National Conference from all the local committees in Srinagar, which gave an overwhelming vote of conidence to the Bakshi government and approved the action taken by him with regard to Sheikh Abdullah and his personal followers.

In pakistan there were demonstrations of anger against the Government of India for having, they alleged, managed to put Sheikh Abdullah behind the bars. When the Sheikh turned for them from a Quisling to a patriot was difficulty to say. The prime Minister of Pakistan atonce rushed to New Delhi and had a conference with Pandit Nehru, after which a joint communique was issued, afferming the settlements of the Kashmir situation by holding a plebiscite after the preliminary steps for preparing the ground were taken by a committee of officials from both the countries. As has been mentioned above, the whole scheme was sabotaged by the pakistan press who raised a storm of vitperation against India nd its leaders as soon as the joint communique was published.

When the Constituent Assembly met in Jammu in February, 11954, it passed a a uanimous vote of confidence in Bakshi Ghulam Mohammed and his Cabinet. On February 6, the Constituene Assembly confirm the State's accesion to India. The reports of the Basic Principles Committee and the Committee on Fundamantal Rights were also adopted the same day.

The Basic principles committed report stated that "in order to enable the Centre to discharge its responsibilities, which devolve upon in under the Constitution, those provlisions of the Constitution of India which may be necessary for this purpose should be made applicable to the State in an approproate manner. While preserving the autonomy ot the State all obligations which flow from the act of accession and also its elaborations as containde in the Delhi Agreement should find appropriate place in the Constitution."

As a practical consequence of the report, the customs barrier was removed on April 13, and thereby Kashmir became economically and integrated part of India. The Central compensated the loss of revenue to the State by a subsidy amounting to twenty million rupees a year.

On may 14, 1954, a Presidential Order was issued incorporating the recommendations of the State Constituent Assembly in the India Constitution.

The Drafting Committee presented the draft of the new constitution to the Assembly on October 10, 1956. It was unanimously adopted on November 17, 1956 and came formally into effect on January 26, 1957, the seventh birthday of the Republic of India.

In regard to all basic matters, the state constitution is identical with the Indian Constitution. It provides for a parliamentary form of government, a bicameral legislature, adult suffrage, an independent judiciary, a Public Service Commission, and other democratic institutions. In the matter of Fundamental Rights, the jurisdiction of the Supreme Court and the authority of the Comptroller and Auditor-General of India, the State is like any other in the Union. The State's official language is Urdu which is one of the recognised Indian languages in the Constitution. The Directive Principles of

the State Policy are also modelled after those of the Constitution of India. The State is to establish and preserve a socialistic order of society. The Constitution has a firm secular basis.

During recent years various measures have been taken to consolidate the State's ties with the rest of the country. The State entered into financial arrangements with the Union Government in 1957 which brought it on par with other states in respect of financial matters including proportionate allocation of funds from the centre.

A state cadre of I.A.S. and I.P.S. officers has been created and these officers are trained through the Union Ministry of Home Affairs.

The State's participation in the Northern Zonal Council has widened the area of co-operation with other states in the Zone leading to greater exchange of experience, technical know how and pooling of administrative and other resources in various fields of development.

The Accounts and Audit Department of the State is now under the Audition-General of India whose nominee runs the Department in the State and accounts of revenue and expenditure re subjected to audit and scrutiny of the Auditor-General.

In 1959 the State Assembly unanimously decided to seek amendment of the State's Constitution to provide for the extension of the jurisdiction of the Election Commission of India and the Supreme court over the State of Jammu and Kashmir. The recommendations of the State Legislature have been incorporated in the Indian Constitution through a Presidential Order issued on January 26, 1960.

The permit system which put restrictions on the

entry of Indian national into the State was finally abolished on April 1, 1959.

In its recent session the Legislative assembly passed an Act authorising the Government to permit those non-state subjects to purchase land and other immovable property in Jammu and Kashmir who intend to set up industries in the State.

The constituent Assembly passed in the capacity of the provisional Legislature,the People's Representation Act providing for delimination of Constituents for the purpose of election to the Legislature Council. It also made provision for free and fair conduct of the elections. In pursuance of this act the Sadr-i-Riyasat issued an order on February 11, 1957 for the Delimitation of Constituencies. The total number of constituencies in the State is 75, out of which there are 30 in Jammu province and 45 in Kashmir province including Ladakh and Kargil.

Elections to the new legislature were held in March, 1957, and once again the National Conference candidates swept the polls winning 68 out of 75 seats. The Praja Parishad won 5, Harijan Mandal 1 and Independents 1.

Opposition, however, began to develop within the National Conference and was led by Mr. G.M. Sadiq, a former Minister and a veteran leader of the National Conference. He and his colleagues, Syed Mir Quasim, Girdharilal Dogra and D.P.Dhar formed, with their supporters, a new party, the Democratic National Conference. After two years of acrimonious opposition, there was a rapprochement between the two groups, Mr. Sadiq formally dissolving his new party and rejoining along with his colleagues the National Conference.

The second elections to the State Assembly were held in 1962 along with the General Elections in India,

under the control and the supervision of the Election Commissioner. During the previous five years of the Bakshi government there had been on all round progress in the state and it was but natural that the electrorate should return the nominees of the National Conference to the Legislature. Out of 75 seats the National Conference secured 70.

The last ten years have witnessed a phenomenal change in the state in economic and cultural fields. An expenditure of eleven crore rupees was incurred on the implementation of the first five year plan. Though the targeted outlay for the second five year plan was about rupees 34 crores, the state could spend only rupees 26 crores.

In the field of agriculture, food production increased considerably. The installed capacity of power which was only about 4,000 kw before the implementation of the plans has been increased to over 24,000kw. Side by side with the development cottage industries, new factories have sprung up The labour force has increased from 6,000 in 1952 to 10,000 in 1961. The per capital income which was Rs. 188 in 1950-51 has gone up to Rs.237 in 1958-59. In the field of social services, the state government has achieved notable success. There are now an engineering college, a medical college, two agricultural colleges, two polytechnics, and a host of such institutions. Similarly in the filed of health the state has sixteen hospitals as against six in 1951-52. The number of dispensaries has increased by three times the number a decade ago. Some heavy industries have already been established, particularly the cement factory at Wuyan, 12 miles to the south-east of Srinagar. Industrialists from the rest of India have become increasingly interested in exploring the possibilities of setting up factories in the state in view of the availability of extensive raw materials. The third plan envisages an outlay or rupees

seventy-five crores and when it is fully implemented Kashmir would have gone a long way in banishing poverty, ignorance and want.

Nowhere is this all round progress more visible than in Ladakh, a district which had during the last hundred years been entirely neglected and the people exploited to the verge of starvation. The man responsible for bringing the miserable condition of Ladakhis to the notice of the Governments of the state and India is Kushak Bakula, the head Lama of Ladakh. Bakshi Ghulam Mohammed on his assuming the office of Prime minister in August, 1953, appointed Kushak Bakula as the Deputy Minister for Ladakh Affairs. Since then the State Government has made all-out efforts in ameliorating the economic condition of the people there. Schools have been opened in far off hamlets in Ladakh and education is making rapid progress. Medical relief has been provided by opening dispensaries in the chief towns and villages. Moreover Army doctors are carrying medical relief to the farthest corners of this frontier region. A jeepable road has been built linking Leh with Srinagar. There is too regular air service to Leh. Internal communications have been improved by building roads, bridle paths and bridges.

Ladakh has recently come into international news on account of the dispute over the entire Sino-Indian boundary. The dispute concerns three sectors. The first is the eastern part of the frontier from Bhutan to Burma known as the Mc Mohan line which was actually delineated at a Tripartite conference in Simla in 1913-14 between the Governments of India. Tibet and China. The second sector concerns the frontier where Uttar Pradesh, Himachal Pradesh and Punjab come up to the Chinese border. The third known as the western sector concerns Indian boundary in Kashmir with China.

The Indian maps for nearly a century have been showing the traditional international frontier in this sector which follows well defined geographical features and has been defined as follows.

Between Lanak La in the Ladak region of the State of Jammu and Kashmir the international boundary follows the eastern and western watershed of the Chang Chemmo and southern watershed of Chumesang and thence the southern bank of Chumesang and the eastern bank of Changlug Lungpa. Skirting the western extremity of the eastern half of Pangong Tso the boundary thence follows the Ang watershed and cutting across Spanggur Tso, follows the north-eastern and northern watershed of the Indus".

The boundary thus includes a large piece of territory known as Aksai Chin projecting out to the north-east. The altitude of this area over 16,000 feet-and the composition of its soil, together with extremely cold climate, makes it unfit for human habitation. Known as Soda Plain, the area is desolate where not even a blade of grass grows. But it has considerable strategic value for the Chinese as forming the shortest road link between Tibet and Sinkiang. Taking undue advantage of the traditional friendship with India, strengthened by the principles of Panchasheel to which both the governments have subscribed, the Chinese without even informing the government of India constructed a motorable road over this Indian territory in 1956-57 from Yehcheng in Sinkinang to Gartok in Tibet. The only excuse they could give was that they did not come across any Indian patrol and therefore thought that the Indian authority had never been established nor exercised over the area.

The first incident on the Ladakh border occurred in October, 1958, when the Chinese troops crossed into Indian territory and occupied the Khurnak Fort. That this

point was actually Kashmir territory was accepted as early as 1924 in a conference of the representatives of Kashmir State of india and the Tibet Region of China. No claim had been ever affirmed that the Fort-formed part of the Tibet Region of China. The Indian Government loadged a protest with the Chinese Government at this incursion into Indian territory in July, 1958, and informed them that the Government of India proposed to send a reconnaissance party to the area.

The petrol which was actually sent to the area near Shinglung could not be traced. The Government of India loadged another protest in October over the construction by chinese of a motor road across Aksai Chin area. It also made enquiries concerning the missing patrol, since the Chinese had now their personnel in this part of Indian Chinese in their Memorandum of 3rd November, 1958 replied that they had actually put the patrol under detention, but in the spirit of area to "deport them from Chinese territory though the Karakoram Pass on 22nd October."

Further incidents occurred throughout 1959. On 20th July, Chinese forces penetrated into Indian territory near the Pangong Lake and took captive an Indian police party engaged in reconnaissance work. They then established themselves at Spanggur. The Government of India in their Note of July 30. to the counselor of china in India protested against this violation of the Indian frontier and demanded the immediate withdrawal of Chinese forces from there.

The most serious incident occurred in October of the same year. An Indian police party, on patrol near the Kong Ka Pass in the Chang-chenmo valley in Ladakh had its three members detained by the Chinese frontier guards. A search party was sent out on the following day but was fired on by the Chinese. In this encounter nine

Indians were killed and seven captured. Those who were captured were put to severe interrogation for several days and confessions obtained from them under pressure. Finally on Indian protests they were released and returned on November 14.

The Chinese Prime Minister proposed that to avoid further clashes, the Chinese and Indian armed forces should withdraw twenty kilometres from the line up to which both countries had established control, although unarmed police and civil administration should still be allowed to function in the respective areas. Shri Nehru made a counter-suggestion that Indian personnel should be withdrawn to the west of the line which the Chinese Government considered to be the boundary line, as shown on its latest map,s while Chinese personnel should be withdrawn to the east of the boundary line as shown on Indian maps. This arrangement, he pointed out, would leave a considerable space between the forces of the two countries, and being of a mountainous nature would not require any civil or administrative personnel. The Chinese Premier however declined to accept the proposal, as it would trantamount to the withdrawal of chinese personnel from Aksai Chin through which they had built a road.

Finally after much correspondence the two Premiers met in Delhi in April, 1960. The meeting couldnot produce any agreement between the Premiers concerning the points at issue. It was, however, decided that the historical material should be further studied both in Peking and Delhi by Chinese and Indian officials, and reports made to their respective governments on the resulted of their research.

After three meetings which the officials of the two countries had in Delhi, Peaking and Rangoon, they presented a report to the Chinese and Indian Governments in February, 1961.

The evidence relating to the Western Sector produced by the Indian side showed that at lease from the tenth century onwards important points on the present Indian alignment were recognized as the traditional limits of Ladakh on the one side and Tibet on the other. There were a large variety of documents and unofficial maps of different countries including China which established that at lease from the sixth century onwards the southern limits of Sinkiang did not lie south of the Kuen Lun ranges and only reached up to these ranges towards the end of the 19th century This makes it clear that the Aksai Chin Plateau and the Lingzitang plains were never a part of China. There was also documentary evidence establishing that these areas had been utilized by the people of Ladakh and administered by the governments of Ladakh and Kashmir. Police check posts, for instance, had been maintained by the Kashmir Government in the Aksai Chin area as far back as in 1865. There were also continued series of revenue and assessment reports covering in detail all the areas now claimed by China. Trade routed running through this area were maintained by the Kashmir Government and in 1870 the British Indian Government signed an agreement with the government of Kashmir securing permission to survey the trade routes in these areas.

A starting fact which came to light during these discussions was that the Chinese side declined to discuss questions pertaining to the boundary of Kashmir State west of the Karakorum pass. This refusal tantamounted to questioning the legality of the accession of the State of Jammu and Kashmir to India. It was pointed out by the Indian side categorically that Kashmir was a part of India and it was legitimate responsibility of the Government of India to deal with this sector along with other sectors of the Sino-indian boundary. The Indian side, therefore, placed on record, in the broadest outline, the evidence supporting the alignment shown by India in this section.

The intensions of the Chinese side with regard to this section became clear when it was announced that Pakistan and China were considering the opening of talks between the two Governments with regard to the delineation of the boundary of Kashmir State west of the Karakorum pass. India, however, made it clear that since it was the whole state of Jammu and Kashmir that had acceded to India and was by virtue of that accession an inalienable part of the Union, it would not recognize any decisions that might result from the talks between the Chinese and Pakistan Governments. The Government of India in a Note dated June 30, 1962, said that Chia had not only departed fro its earlier policy of non-interference in the Kashmir situation, but wad giving "legal and moral encouragement to an aggressor state and prejudicing the prospects of a peaceful settlement of the Kashmir issue between Indian and Pakistan.

The only solution to the dispute was the recognition by China of the natural boundary formed by the majestic arc of the Kuen Lun and the great Himalayan ranges which has been recognized in tradition and custom for centuries, has determined the limits of administration on both sides and has received confirmation during the last 300 years in valid international agreements.

People of Kashmir under the leadership of the National conference were engaged in a bitter fight with feudalism and bureaurcracy as represented by the Maharjaa's government-when thousands of workers were undergoing various terems of imprisonment for offering Satyagraha or civil disobedience—events of a vital and far-reaching consequence were taking place in the rest of the courntry. British imperialism was crumbling fast before the massive blows of Indian national movement and the day of India's independence was drawing near. by 1947 the british were convinced that India could no longer be held in thraldom and acting on the advice of

the Viceroy, Lord Mountbatten, the British Government published a Plan for the partition of Inida. On June 17, the Indian Independence Act was passed stating that on August 15, 1947, the British would relinguish their authority in India which was to become an independent country. A part of its territories with a preponderating Muslim majority was to be constituted into Pakistan and recongnised as an independent and sovereign State.

The partition was necessitated by the sinister passions roused by intractable and interested parties among a section of communal-minded Muslims and Hindus during the long struggle for emanicpation of India from foreign domination. The freedom movement aimed at not merely freeing India from British domination but also building a secular, independent and democratic India. hindus, Muslims Christians, Sikhs and parsis - all made sacrifices for this great cause. Against it stood many sectarian, pseudo-religious, feudal and other vested interests. The Muslim League represented one of these. It set itself against the main stream of Indian natinalism, endeavouring to sow disruption and discord by perverting religious beliefs to incite harted. The League provided a counterpoise to the growing national movement and, as such, it received encouragement and support from various quarters. But the national movement grew in strength and when at he end of the second world war it became clear that Britain couls no longer rule india and that the Indian national movement was on the eve of its final victory, the League intensified its activities and caused tremendous strife, aided no doubt in this by its Hindu counterpart. It was in this context that India was partitioned between composite Indian nationalism on the one hand, and reactionary political sectarianism, on the other, India accepted hte parition as it provided the only peaceful means of attaining freedeom.

The medieval concept of nationality based on religious belief has always been foreign to the Kashmiri. The long tradition of religious toleration has created in him a secular outlook on human relations, which has time and again assereted itself during the course of his long history. Ture, there were moments when attempts were made by interested parties to arouse communal passions-in 1923 for example when there were a few skirmishes in some parts of the State and in 1931 when there were a few dkirmishers in some parts of the State and in 1931 when the freedom struggle started-but very soon the people regained their balance and kept to the path of communal amity and religious toleration. by 1947 the politically conscious people of Kashmir had gained enough maturity to resist the snares of communal hatred as preached by the leaders of the League. The partition naturally gave them a severe shock, but they were not directly affected by it.

For, it applied only to what was know as British India. Besides the fear that the western wing of Pakistan which touched the borders of the State and might create difficulities in maintaining communications with the ourside world, the Kashmirirs were faced with a graver problem, namely, the future of the jammu and Kashmir State itself. On the laps of Paramountcy of the British Crown over all the Princely States, of which there were 562 when India attained independence, the problem arose as to what was to be done with them, because they were not directly ruled by the Government of India.

The question of their future was defined in a memorandum on 'States Treaties and parmaountcy' presented by the Cabinet Mission to hte Chancellor of Princes in India. 'When a new fully self-governing or independent Government or Governments come into being in British India, His Majesty's Government's influence with these Governments willnot be such as to

enable them to carry out the obligations of paramountcy. Moreover, they cannot contemplate that British troops would be retained in India for this purpose Thus, as a logical sequence and in view of the desires expressed to them on behalf of the Indian States, His Majesty's Government will cease to exercise the powers of paramountcy. This means that the rights of the States which flow form their relationship to the Crown will no longer exist and that all the rights surrendred by the States to the paramount power will return to the States. Politically arrangements between the Sates, on the one side, and the British Crown and British India, on the other, will thus be brought to an end. The void will have to be filled either by the States. Politically arrangements between the States, on the one side, the British Crown and British India, on the other, will thus be brought to an end. The void will have to be filled either by the States entering into a federal relationship with the successor Government or Governments in British India, or failing this, entering into particular arrangements with it".

To this effect the British Government made an announcement simulataneously with the announcement of the partition scheme on June 3, 1947:

"His Majesty's Government wish to make it clear that the decisions announced above (about partition) relate only to British India and that their policy towards the Indian States contained in the Cabinet Mission Memorandum of May 12, 1946, remains quite unchanged."

The legal provision under which the princely States could enter into a "federal relationship with the successor Government or Governments in British India" was to be found in the Indian independence Act of 1947 and the India Act of 1935. These two Acts of the British Parliament, which created the legal basis for the

independence of Indian, provided that a State could accede to the Dominion of India by an Insturment of Accession executed by the ruler thereof. It was also provided that Indian States acceding in this manner shall become and integral part of the Union of India. This legal position was affirmed on several occasions by the late Mr. Mohanmmad Ali Jinnah who was the architect of Pakistan and its first Governor-General.

But to prevent a dislocation of the arrangements "with regard to customs, transit and comunications, posts and telegraphs, or other like matters", during the period between June 17, when the Government of India Act was passed, and August 15, when India became independent, the Ruler of a Princely State could enter into a standstill agreement with either or both the independent Dominions.

In the absence of accession, however, the Union of India was responsible for the defence and protection of Indian States, since it had succeeded to the British Crown in the same way as the British Crown had succeeded to the Mughal Emperor. The United Nations recognised the Union of India as the successor State to the pre-independence Government of India as the successor State to the Pre-independence Government of India by allowing it to continue its original membership, while admitting Pakistan, on her application, as a new member State.

This was the legal and constitutional position in which the Jammu and Kashmir stood on the eve of independence. But there were several practical difficulties which made the question of accession of the State to any one of the Dominions complicated. The foremost was the attitude of the Ruler, Maharaja Hari Singh, Himself.

For years after the lease of Gilgit to the British, the Maharaja was given wide latitude by the Government of

India in the exercise of his powers. With his unstinted support to their war effort his position became allthe more strong, and when there arose an extensive movement among the masses to end the British rule in India, the Maharaja's hands were further strengthened by the British to enable him to kill opposition to his rule in the State. This explains the strong measures that his prime minister, Ram Chandra Kak, took to suppress the Quit Kashmir' movement launched by the National Conference.

All along these years the Maharaja was dreaming of an independent Kashmir State protected and aided by the British Crown. He, as many of his class, could not visualize the exit of the British from India and the end of the all-powerful British Empire. Encouraged in his ideas by several of his British officials in whom he appears to have placed trust, he refused to see and understand the dynamic changes that were taking place in the political scene in india. He cherished the dream of his State standing "independent, of course with friendly and cordial relations with both the Dominions".

Though all the States acceded to India or Pakistan on various dates before or immediately after 15th August, 1947, the Maharaja of Jammu and Kashmir delayed his decision in regard to accession. He had clamped the popular leaders and a large number of their followers behind his prison gates and had shut his eyes to the historic foreces that were shaping the destinines of the one-fifth of the world's population. He little thought that these very foreces were to determine the future of himself and that of his State.

To apprise him of the grave risk he was taking by his indecision, Lord Mountbatten visited Kashmir on June 19, 1947 and remined there for four days. 'When he got there," records Campbell-Johnson, "he found the

Maharaja politically ver elusive and the only conversations that took place were during their various car drives together. Mountbatten on these occasions urged him and his Prime Minister, Pandit Kak, not to make any declaration of independence, but to find out in one way or another the will of the people of Kashmir ad soon as possible and to announce their intention by 14 August, this year. He did not do that, and what happened can be seen. Had he acceded to Pakistan did not then exist, and therefore could not have interfered. The only toruble that could have been raised was by non-accession to either side, and this was unfortunately the very course followed by the Maharaja."

but he was not indecisive about the oppressive measures he was adopting against the National Conference. The people were in great distrees and it was at the request of Bakshi Ghulam Mohammed who was indefatigable in his exposition of the issues involved int he freedom struggle going in Kashmir, that Mhatama Gandhi paid a short visit to Srinagar in early August. He saw the Maharaja, but from his later speeches it appears was not successful invonvicing him of the desirablility of meeting the demand of the people for a constitutional government.

Standstill Agreement

The sand of time was running out fast, and fearing a breakdown of the communication system through Pakistan and the rich export trade with India, the Maharaja sought from both the Dominions a standstill agreement to come into force on August 15, 1947.

The history of the stanstill agreement is contained in the telegrams exchanged between the Prime Minister of jammu and Kashmir, on the one hand, and the Prime Minister of pakistan, on the ohter. There was a similar series of telegrams between the responsible Minister in

New Delhi and the Prime Minister of Jammu and Kashmir.

As a result of the telegrams that passed between the Prime Minister of Pakistan and the Prime Minister of Kashmir, a standstill agreement was arrived at "with regard to her (state's) communications, supplies, and post office and telegraphic arrangements.

On 12th August, 1947 an identical telegram was sent to the Government of India stating that the "Jammu and Kashmir Government would welcome standstill agreement with Union of India on all matters on which these exist at the present moment with outgoing British Indian Government. It is suggested that the existing arrangements should continue pending settlement of details and formal execution of fress agreements. Thes arragements, according to the Treaty of Amristsar of 1846, comprised the use of Indian forces if there was internal rebellion or invasion by a foreign government.

The Government of India, however, did not accept the offer immediately and telegraphed back:

"Government of India would be glad if you or some other Minister duly authorised in this behalf could fly Delhi for negotiating standstill agreement between Kashmir Government and Indian Dominion. Early action desirable to maintain existing agreements and administrative arrange-ments.

But before the Prime Minister could go to Delhi to discuss these matters, Kashmir, was invaded. Therefore the standstill agreements which the State was trying simultaneously to conclude with the two countries were interrupted and other developments followed.

Frontier raids and economic blockade

It was early in 1947 when serious communal riots and disturbances became the order of the day in the Punjab,

and there were large-scale movements of refugees from one part of the province to the other, that the Maharaja had stationed his troops at several strategic points on the borders of the state. A British officer, Maj-General Scott, who was in overall command of the troops deployed them in small batches all over the frontier with the result that no reserves were available for meeting a large scale invastion from across the border. However only a few days after Pakistan accpeted the standstill agreement, Maj-Gen. Scott submitted his first report to the Jammu and Kashmir Government on the border raids from Pakistan. On 4th September, on the basis of his reports, the kashmir Government protested by telegram to the West Punjab Government against armed Muslims from Rawalpindi district infiltrating into the state. Two days later there was a marketed increase in this activity. Maj-Gen. Scott reported more armed raids into State territory by Pakistan nationals and soldiers on 13th, 17th, 18th and 28th September. On 3rd october, Kashmir Government protested to Pakistan against hundreds of armed people from Murree Hills in Pakistan operating in Poonch. Further incursions into Kashmir took place on various dates during October.

In contrast to Lord Mountbattens's assurance to the Maharaja that India would not object if he decided on his state acceding to Pakistan in accordance with the established procedure, Pakistan was determied to coerce the State into accession to her, despite a Standstill Agreement which she had with the Ruler. Besides the several incursions by her armed forces and nationsls into the state territory, she began an economic blockade of the state. Supplies of food, petrol and other essential commodities to kashmir were cut off. Communications were tampered with and free transit of people was hindered.

The Government of Jammu and Kashmir made repeated representations to the authorities in pakistan appealing to them to lift the blockade and stop violation of State territory. These representations brought forth only brazen denials. On October 15th, the Maharaja cabled to the British Prime Minister, whom he thought still to be the over-all protector of Indian States, about the economic blockade of the State by Pakistan and the beginning of the invasion from Pakistan in Poonch. He went on to say:

"People all along the border have been licensed and armed with modern weapons under the pretext of general policy which does not appear to have been followed in the case of internal districts of West Punjab. Whereas military escorts are made available for several other purposes, none is provided for safe transit of petrol and other essentials of life. Protests merely elicit promises which are never implemented. As a result of obvious connivance of the Pakistan Government, the whole of the border from Gurdaspur side up to Giigit is threatened with invasion which has actually begun in Poonch."

It was on the same day (October 15) that there began the siege of Fort Owen; nearly 5,000 Pakistan raiders were involved in the operations.

Pressed on all sides by the hostile actions of Pakistan and realizing that the British Crown was powerless to help, the Maharaja tried to win back the support and good will of his subjects. He had early in August dismissed Kak and appointed temporarily a retired minister, Thakur Janak Singh, in his place. Two months later he appointed Mehar Chand Mahajan, a prominent jurist of Punjab, as his Prime Minister. To reestablish peaceful relations between the ruler and his subjects, Sheikh Mohammad Adbullah and most of his colleagues were released from jail on September 29.

O their release, the leaders of the National Conference found Kashmir faced with the important question of whether she should accede to the Indian Union or to Pakistan, or remain independent. But there was another more crucial question which also awaited recognition and solution, namely the feedom of the people. So they thought and said that this important question could be decided by the people of Kashmir only when they were free. They requested Pakistan not to precipitate a decision upon them, but give them time and to support the freedom movement of Kashmir. One of the leaders, G.M. Sadiq, went twice to Mr. Liaquat Ali Khan, the Prime Minister of Pakistan, whth the same request. The reply came in the form of the economic blockade and incursions of their armed forces into the State territory. By October 22, infiltrations and raids were transformed into a full-scale military invasion of the State of Jammu and Kashmir.

Between the settled districts of the North-Western Frontier of West Pakistan and the Afghan border lies that strip of hilly land that is known as the tribal territory whose area is 24,986 square miles and whose population is estimated at 2,378,000.

The people inhabiting this tribal area were a constant source of anxiety to the British Government. Sturdy, warlike and quick to pick quarrels, they are extremely poor and backward in education and civilization. It was the constant practice of these people to raid Indian villages within the British jurisdiction for loot. They kidnapped men, women and children for ransom. The British government tried to stop their depredations and purchase peace by paying them a huge amount of "hush money" every year. Even so, it was neighter easy nor possible always to have peace on the Frontier. Indeed, the British government had sometimes to resort to aerial bombing to keep them down.

When the British transferred power, one of the problems left unsolved by them was that of the tribal people, and Pakistan had to tackle it. Grores of rupees were spent by the British out of Indian revenues to appease these people, but th enewly-born State of Pakistan could ill afford to spend so much money on them. Besides, the leaders of Pakistan who upheld religion to be the basis of nationality would lose face if they treated the tribal people, their co-religionists, in the British way. There was again another meance growing rapidly in the North-Western Province, of the Pathanistan movement which demanded autonomy for the Pathans. It had to be nipped in the bud before the movement lured the Pathans both of the North-Western Froniter Province and the tribal areas into one hostile camp. The urgent need felt by Pakistan to force the issue in Kashmir, and secure its speedy accession to Pakistan contained a possibility of solution of more than one problem. To hold out to the pooor tribal people the alluring promise of land and plenty in Kashmir, to give them a lurid description of the supposed atrocities perpetrated on Muslims so that they might be worked up to fever pitch, and allow them a free run of the beautiful Valley, would secure Kashmir, solve the problem of the poor tribal people, kill the Pathanistan movement and secure Pakistan's safety and prosperity—all in one stroke! What was needed was expedition and promptitude.

So the tribal people were let loose on Kashmir territory. They had to march through miles of Pakistan rerritory to reach the borders of the Jammu and Kashmir State. We have already noted the intense activities of hostiles all along the 500-mile Pakistan border and their "softening" process set into operation. The raids, small and big, had tested, baited, decoyed and dispersed the forces guarding the security of the State. These raids grew into a regular warface. On October 22, 1947, a large

force of armed raiders entered Muzaffarabad in 300 lorries and began looting and burning. They were armed with modern weapons, including Bren-guns, Sten-guns, grenades, heavy mortars, anti-tank rifles and land mines and an unlimited supply of ammunition. They were led by Major-General Akbar Khan, under the name of General Tariq and other Pakistan officers fully conversant with modern strategy and warfare.

After the sack of Muzaffarabad the invaders continued their progress along the Jhelum Valley road towards Srinagar, bringing death and devastation to the inhabitants of villages and towns on the way. Their triumphant march was temporarily stemmed at Uri, a town 65 miles from Srinagar by the demolition of a bridge and the gallant resistance of about 150 men under the command of Brigadier Rajinder Rajinder Singh of the State army, who was killed fighting a memorable last-ditch battle.

The heroic exploit of Brigadier Rajinder Singh and his ill-assorted band of a few regular soldiers, cooks, mess waiters and orderlies who had taken up arms on his orders, is unique in the military annals of the world. Born in the family of Jamwal Rajputs on June 14, 1899, he lost his parents at the age of four and was brought up by an uncle. He graduated from the P.W. College in Jammu and at the age of twenty-two was directly commissioned as Lieutenant in the State forces. He rose in rank quickly and by his abilities as a disciplined soldier and an able commander became Chief of Staff of the State forces on August 14, 1947.

On the fateful day of October 22, he was attending to his official duties in the Srinagar Cantonment when the news reached that a largescale invasion had taken place at Muzaffarabad and that the raiders were on their way to Srinagar. There were no reserves near at hand,

and collecting all the available soldiers and non-combatants, he could with difficulty muster a small force of about 150 men. But the city had to be saved and the only way to do it was to stem the hostile advance on the saved and the only way to do it ws to stem the hostile advance on the road below Baramula. Brigadier Rajinder Singh decided to march at the head of the small column towards Domel, 112 miles from Srinagar.

But Domel fell and the enemy forces advanced and dug themselves in strategic positions at Garhi, 16 miles further up. They offered stiff resistance to the small column led by Rajinder Singh. Despite suffering heavy losses he grimly held on for sometime and when the raiders tried to encrcle his troops, he decided to pull out and withdraw to Baramula.

This withdrawal raised the morale of the enemy who advanced as far up as Uri. After reorganising his battered column at Baramula the Brigadier dashed to Uri. Facing the main body of the raiders there, he employed a different strategy, namely, to halt as long as possible the advance of the invaders to Srinagar. He destroyed the bridge which cut off the forward line of the raiders from the base. Attacked from three directions the Brigadier suffered heavy losses and withdrew his column to Mohora and then to Rampur along the Jhelum Valley road, with the raiders, in chase. Here he offered a grim fight to the enemy for eleven crucial hours. But he had to pay a heavy toll and finally rodered the remanant of his men to withdraw. While they were fighting their way to a position of safety, Rajinder Singh guarding the rear single-handed, kept up a steady fire. It was here that an enemy bullet this him in the right arm and another got embeded in the right leg. But this did not silence his gun. He was soon encircled by the raiders and killed.

But he had saved Srinagar by checking the advance

of the enemy for three invaluable days. This interval had enabled the airfield in the capital to receive the first wave of defenders from India.

With no opposition now from the State forces, the raiders surged forward. Having meanwhile managed to construct a diversion, about a mile long, which must have required considerable engineering skill to build and was apparently effected by the sappers and engineers of the pakistan army, they captured Mohora and damaging the power house there planged the city in darkness. It took them only a few hours to envelope and enter Baramula, the chief town in the Valley, which they captured on October 26.

The Sack of Baramula

It was a calamity for the peaceful inhabitants of Baramula. Hundreds were cut down in cold blood. Houses were burnt and looted. No distinction was made between Hindu, Muslim, Sikh or Christian. The enteir Mission building of St. Joseph's Convent was ransacked and then burnt to the ground. The chapel was strewn with smashed glass and plaster. The Assistant Monther Superior, three nuns and British officer's wife were killed. According to the correspondent of the New York Times who visited the town after the raiders were driven out by the Indian Army, the "surviving residents estimate that 3,000 of their fellow townsmen, including four Europeans and a retired British Army officer and his pregnant wife were slain".

There in Baramula they sezed the young hero of the National Conference, Maqbool Sherwani, "interrogated" him for several days and at last tied him to a post in the centre of the town, drove nails into him and when he did not even then recant his belief in secular democracy, emptied their bullets into his body. For several days earlier when the tribesmen were terrorizing the

countryside, "Sherwani, who knew every path in the Valley, began working behind the line, keeping up the morale of the besieged villages, urging them to resist and to stick together regardless of whether they were Hindus, Sikhs, or Muslims, assuring them that help from the Indian Army and people's Militia was on the way. Three times "by skilfully planted rumours he decoyed bands of tribesmen and got them surrounded and caputred by the Indian infantry. But the fourth time he was captured himself."

With the occupation of Baramula by the raiders, Srinagar itself was threatened. They, however, lost four valuable, days in looting and killing in Baramula and when they after all marched on Srinagar, they met with resistance from the local Militia and the Indian Army which ultimately proved to be their doom.

For, at that critical hour in the history of Kashmir when the marauding invaders were a few miles from the capital, the National Conference tock up the task of defending the city and surrounding districts against invasion. Thousands of volunteers from all communities came forward to offer resistance to the invader and under the inspiring leadership of Bakshi Ghulam Mohammed a sizeable force was hurriedly trained in rifle shooting including a company of women volunteers. A night long vigil was kept for any tribesmen entering the city by stealth or any fifth columnist creating panic. All available civil motor transport was requistioned and kept ready for the Indian Army who were expected to come to the aid of Kashmiris at their hour of peril and misfortune.

Accession of the State of India

Sheikh Mohammad abdullah flew to New Delhi to personally appeal to the Indian Cabinet to despatch armed forces to help Kashmiris repel the invaders. Meanwhile the Maharaja alarmed by the invasion of his

country and by the prospect of dosastation which seemed immminent appealed to India on October 24, for military help.

On October 25, a meeting of the Decence Committee took place in New Delhi under the Chairmanship of Lord Mountbatten in which the Maharaja's request for supply of arms and ammunition was considered. At this meeting General Lockhart, the commander-in-Chief in India, read out a telegram from the headquarters of the Pakistan Army stating that some 5,000 tribeasmen had attacked and captured Muzaffarabad and Domel and that considerable tribal reinforcements could be expected. Reports showed that they were already little more than thirty-five miles from Srinagar. According to Cambell-Johnson "the Defence Committee considered that the most immediate necessity was to rush in arms and ammunition already requested by the kashmir government, which would enable the local population in Srinagar to put up some defence against the raiders. The problem of troop reinforcements was considered, and Mountabatten urged that it would be dangerous to send in any troops unless Kashmir had first offered to accede."

Following the session of the Defence Committee, V.P. Menon, Secretary of the States Ministry, was sent to Srinagar to explain the position to the Maharaja and to get an eye-witness report of the situation in Srinagar. "The information which V.P. [Menon] brought back to the Defence Committee the next day [October 26] was certainly disturbing. He reported that he had found the Maharaja unnerved by the rush of events and the sense of his lone helplessness. impressed at last by the urgency of the situation, he had left that unless India could help immediately, all would be lost. Later in the day, on the strogn advice of V.P., the Maharaja left Srinagar with his wife and son. V.P. had impressed upon him that as the

raiders had already reached Baramula it would be follhardy for His Highness to stay on in the capital."

The Defence Committee thereupon "decided to prepare to send troops by air the following day and to accept the accession if it was offered. On the same day Mr. Menon flew back to Srinagar, this time returning with both the signed accession nad the request for troops, in addition to the arms and ammunition which were due."

But irrespective of Kashmir's accession it was the duty of India to come to its aid in the hour of its peril. India was the sucessor State to the former British Government which was responsible for the protection of all the Indian States from foreign aggression.

The accession of the Jammu and Kashmir State to the Union of India was accepted by the Governor-General,Lord Mountabatten, in precisely the same way as in the case of other Indian States. the accession was thus complete in law and in fact. Jammu and Kashmir State thence-forth became an integral part of India and its defence the concern of the whole country. Lord Mountbatten, however, wrote a separate letter to sion of Kashmir State to the the Dominion of India." To remove any apprehensions that the people of Kashmir may have with regard to accession the Governor-General conveyed the assurance that in consistance with the policy of the government of India "that in the case of any State where the issue of accession has been the subject of dispute the question of accession should be decided in accordance with the wishes of the people of the State, it is my Government's whish that, as soon as law and order have been restored and the soil cleared of the invader, the question of the State's accession should be settled by a reference to the poeple". It was a promise to the people of Kashmir which the Government of India fulfilled later with the holding of elections on universal adult franchise

to the Constitutent Assembly of the State which approved the State having acceded to India on October 26, 1947.

Fight against aggression

On October 27, the first batch of Indian troops under the command of lieutenant-colonel D.r. Rai flew to Srinagar. They flew because that was the only medium of transport left to them, at such short notice. By land, they would have been too late. Some 300 miles of precarious fair-weather road lay between the nearest Indian contonment at pathankot and Srinagar.

Over a hundred civilian aircraft were immediately mobilised to fly troops, equipment and supplies to Srinagar. Indian Air Force and civilian pilots and ground-crews rose to the occasion and worked day and night to make the air-life a success. The ferry service to Srinagar continued unabated up to November 17, during which time 704 sorties were flown from Delhi.

Seldom in the history of warfare has an operation been put through with no previous planning and with many handicaps, not the least of which were almost non-existent lines of communication and a complete lack of intellignece of enemy dispositions.

When the first troops were flown for Srinagar, they were instructed to circle over the airfield before landing. They were not sure whether the airfield had not fallen into the hands of the enemy. As a matter of fact, the instructions of Col. Rai were not to land if there was any doubt on the point, but to fly back to jammu. After an interval of tense suspense, at 10-30 a.m. a wireless flash from Srinagar announced the safe landing of the first wave of troops.

There was widespread jubilations among the citizens of Srinagar and the inhabitants of neighbouring towns

and villages. For five anxious days they had carried on the normal life, kept the essentil services going, and maintained a strict discipline. Their morale was high, they did not give way to panic, and they organised bands of volunteers to maintain law and order and order and keep a strict watch on strategic points. For five days they faced manfully the alarming reports of the raiders' advance and their eyes were constantly cast to the skies in the hope of seeing the first Indian plane coming with the sorely needed help and relief. They had collected all available motor-vehicles and kept them ready to carry the first troops to the fornt. Local direvers were at the wheels ready to risk their lives in defending their land.

The headquarters staff of this Command consisted of just eight officers. The units under the Command had been fully committed on internal defence duties, distributed in penny-packets, escorting non-Muslim and Muslim refugee trains and foot columns and maintaining law and order. The training of units had therefore suffered considerably. Most units had got somewhat disorganised following the partition of the Army and the withdrawal of the British element.

Instructions to send a battalion to Srinagar were received by the Command headquarters at 1 p.m. on October 26. One battalion of the Sikh Regiment, under Lt-Col. Rai, which was then employed on internal defence dutics at Gurgaon, was ordered to concentrate at Palam airfield.

By midnight on October 26-27, the Commanding Officer of First Sikhs managed to assembled his battalion headquarters plus one company at Palam. Clothing, rations and ammunication were issued to the troops at the airfield, and by first light on October 27, the Sikhs were airborne. The battalion headquarters was flown in three Indian Air Force Dakotas from Palam and one

company took off in civilan Dakotas from Willingdon airport.

Later in the day, one more company employed on railway protection duties arreived at Palam. The remainder of First Sikhs was still out on detachment duties and had to be brought to Delhi to be flown to Srinagar the following day.

On October 27, when the first wave of Indian troops under Col. Rai landed in Srinagar, the invaders were already in Baramula. Thirtyfive miles of fine tarmac road was all that lay between them and Srinagar.

Col. Rai's orders were to defend the airfield and consolidate his position. On landing, however, he found himself faced with a dilemma. He had to take a quick decsion - the enemy was at Baramula, the strategic bottleneck which opens into the Srinagar valley. Once the invaders were allowed to enter and fan out into the Srinagar plain, the game was up.

Should he give immediate battle to the invaders - estimated at anything between 3,000 to 5,000 - at Baramula, with his wefully inadequate force or wait till adequate reinforcements arrived? Col. Rai took the decision and crashed into the invaders' column at Baramula.

The civilian buses rushed his troops to within two miles of the town. Holding one company in reserve, the put in an attack with another company. He fou,d however, that it was no ill-organised rabble that he had to content with but an organised body of man armed with light and medium machine-guns and mortars, divided into units and sub-units, and led by commanders who knew medern tactics and the use of ground.

Col. Rai's company was deployed on a hill along the main road, sometime after battle had been joined Col. Rai

discovered that large parties of raiders were working their way around his flanks and that machine-gun fire was coming from the flanks as well as from the front.

There was a serious threat of both his companies being encircled and annihilated. thereupon, col. Rai decided to withdraw to pattan, half way between Baramula and Srinagar. He got his reserve company away in bases and gradually bregan to pull out his leading company which was at that time committed. He himslef remained with the forward section to make sure that all his troops moved back safely.

The last party of Indian troops had to run the gauntlet of heavy fire in order to escape the trap. many fell dead, among them was Col. Rai himself - the victim of a sniper's bullet. But he ad succeeded in his object—he had staggered the enemy, disorganised his column and halted his advance long enough for reinforcements to arrive from India. by his courage and dash vital progress in the saving of Srinagar was achieved.

The troops, however, left without a commanding officer, fell back to a point only 31/2 miles from Srinagar. But the same night they went forward again, reoccupied Pattan and went even further to the 26th milestone from Srinagar. Threre they found the raiders swarming around the countryside. They then fell back on Pattan, where they occupied a ridge and dug in.

Meanwhile, a brigade headquarters and a flight of IAF Spitfire, Tempest, and Harvard aircraft for closer co-operation and air reconnaissancfe were flown from Delhi. The 161 Brigade arrived in Srinagar close on the heels of the First Sikh Regiment. Brigadier L.P. Sen, who won his DSO in the famous battle of Kangaw in the Arakan during the last world war, arrived in Srinagar and took over command of all Indian and State Forces in the Srinagar valley.

The situation in the first week of operations in Kashmir can best be described as "touch and go." The threat to Srinagar continued, even increased. For the Indian Army, the week was one of desperate struggle to gain time for adequate troops to be flown in from India. That struggle took the shape of offensive delaying actions.

Scanty intelligence reports of the raiders' movement indicated that there were at least four columns of raiders converging on Srinagar and the airfield, one column moving from the west from Baramula, another from the south-west, a third from the north-west and fourth from the north.

On November 3, a company of the First Kumaon Regiment, which in the meantime had been flown in under Major Somanth Sharma, went out on a fighting patrol to Badgam, nine miles southwest of Srinagar and hardly half a mile from the airfield.

The company ran into an enemy force, 500 to 700 strong, who attacked supported by 3" and 2" mortars. The encounter lasted over four hours. Maj. Sharma led his men with remarkable skill and inflicted many casulties on the enemy. Brigh, Sen, realising that the Kumaonis were faced with a body of well armed raiders infinitely superior in numbers immediately dispatched reinforcements. But before they could reach the Kumaonis, Maj. Sharma was killed when a two-inch mortar bomb exploded near him.

The loss of the commander as well as the fireceness of the enemy's attack resulted in the two forward platcons of the Kumaon company beign overrun. The third platoon fouhgt on and when the reinforcements arrived, the situation steadied up. The enemy's causalties in this action where estimated at about 200, while the Kumaonis suffered 15 killed and 32 wounded. The air

support by IAF fighter aircaraft to our troops proved invaluable in his engagment, which removed an immediate threat to the airfield and gave the ground forces more breathing time.

When it was noticed that the raiders could bypass our position at Pattan, 17 miles outside Srinagar, and infiltrate into the city itself, Brig. Sen decided to pull back his troops to a point 41/2 miles due west of Srinagar city. In so doing, he strengthened the defence of the city as well as shortened the line of communication of his troops.

Since the withdrawal from Pattan almost coincided with the Badgam engagment, the raiders got away with the impresion that the Indian Army was in full retreat. They hthereupon concentrated their main body astride the Baramula road and faced our forces fenterenced outside the city.

Thus, while the enemy was preparing for a final assault on the city, the city, the Indian forces were fast building up for an offensive. Major-General Kalwant Singh arrived in Srinagar on November 5, and took over command of all the forces in Jammu and Kashmir. At the same time, one squadron of armoured cars adventured their way to Srinagar by the perilous 300-mile Banihal Pass and over ricketty bridges fit only for light tourist traffic. In Srinagar, large crowds lined the route and loudly cheered the cavalcade as it rumbled past.

The raiders' main position had been spotted and the stage was set for the projected offensive. On the morning on November 7, the Indian troops attacked the enemy. At the same time one troop of armoured cars and detachment of infantry which were patrolling in the Gandarbal area were ordered to manoeuver back so as to take on the enemy from the rear. Brig. Sen sent one force of armoured cars and troops north of the Anchar lake to

go behind the raiders' positions which were hinged on a village called Shalteng. He dispatched another column supported by armoured cars straight down the Baramula road and battalion of infantry to attack the raiders' right flank. IAF fighters gave close support from the air.

The battle a Shalteng lasted 12 hours. Trapped from three sides, surprised by armoured cars and pursued from the air by the IAf, the raiders fled westwards in disorder, leaving behind 300 dead. The IAF in this crucial engagement and during the follow-up, played a decisive role.

Baramula recaptured

With this battle the Indian Army turned the corner. it was a decisive victory, which broke the back of the enemy drive, demoralised the invaders and enabled the Indians to go over to the offensive. It removed the threat to Srinagar once and for all.

Indian forces took up the pursuit and arrived in Pattan the same evening. The next day, Novemember 8, they made for Baramula and after some skirmishes on the road, entered the town in the afternoon.

To their great disappointment, however, they found that the slight delay in their advance, caused by shortage of petrol, had enabled the main party of raiders to escape from Barmaula along the road to Uri and Domel.

Even before they reached Uri, the Indian column ran out of petrol at least twice and had to wait for replensihment from Srinagar. The civilian buses were unsuitable and too few to meet the needs.

The momentum of the victory should have taken the Indian forces straight to Muzaffarabad if only they had enough petrol and military motor transport. It was later revealed that the invaders were in headlong retreat and

there were no enemy troops in reserve enven in Muzaffarabad to make a stand against the Indians. In between, most of the bridges had, of course, been blown up by the retreating forces, some of thm beyond repaird and others incapable of permitting even a diversion.

On November 14, Indian troops entered Uri, 65 miles from Srinagar, without much of a battle. With its recapture the first and most hazardous phase of the Kashmir campaign and been completed. An immediate threat to the Srinagar valley had been removed.

As the tribal invaders were triumphantly driving up the Domel road towards Srinagar, a local revolution was being hatched up at Gilght under inspiration from Peshawar. In pursuance of the British Government's announcement that the control and administration of Gilgit would be returned to the jammu and Kashmir State late in July 1947, the Maharaja deputed Brigadier Gahnsara Singh as Governor of Gilgit. No sooner did the latter arrive at Gilgit than he was faced with catalouge of demands from the officers and JCOs of the Gilgit Scouts, who under the direction of certain British and Muslim Officers had conspired to get Gilgit merged into Pakistan. the Govenor, however, tried to win the symphathies of the local population who welcomed the return of Maharaja's rule. But the Gilgit Scouts under one major Brown continued to remain sullen and as the tribal invaders were knocking at the gates of Srinagar, the tension increased at Gilgit. On midnight of October 31, the Governer's residence was surrounded by the Scouts who demanded his immediate surrender. The Governor was put under arrest and a provisional government was formed by the rebels under Major Brown. On November 4, the ceremonially hosted the Pakistan flag in the Scouts Lines in Gilgit and in the third week of November peshawar sent its political gent to rule over Gilgit. The Mirs and Rajas of the Gilgit district had no hand in the

revolution, nor did the people of the territory take active part in it.

During the winter months, the Indian Army in Kashmir fought two enemies. Holding the radiers at bay was easy. Throughout the period, the raiders could not gain an inch of territory, and every attempt to break through or bypass Uri was beaten back resolutely. But the Indian Army's joust with "General Winter" was inded a grim and herioc struggle.

A majority of Indian troops had never seen snow before. Nor were they armed with special snow-fighting equipment. With the blocking of the only land route to Srinagar by snow and the stoppage of the air service, the supply situation became acute.

During these difficult months the Army in Kashmir largely remained on the defensive, confining itself to long-range reconnaissance and offensive patrolling. Its battle against the elements was fought by lone piquest perched on snow-clad mountains and by patrols venturing out into uncharted country, breasting the blizzards and hailstorms.

In the middle of January, a party of 1,500 raiders, moving along the north bank of the Jhelum, concentrated on the other side of the Mohora power-house, intent on seizing or disrupting it.

Our troops threw a steel cable across the 100-yard width of the Jhelum, and with the aid of ropes and pulleys, got across the river under cover of darkness. Their heavy equipment and ammunition were ferried. The column then fell on the raiders at dead of night. Asleep and taken by surprise, the raiders fled in disorder. Among the killed was their commanding officer.

The raiders made repeated attempts to storm our piquets one after the other. Every time they were beaten

back. Failing either to break through or bypass Uri, raiders advanced over the track linking Muzaffarabad with Tithwal and made for Handwor, on the northern approaches to the Srinagar valley. An Indian column ment them there and dispersed them, recapturing some of the villages that had fallen into their hands.

All this time, the battle against "General Winter" was beign fought with grim tenacity. At one stage in February, the Indian Army's supply depto at Srinagar had just ten gallons of aviation spirit in stock. The civil population - whose morale was a most important factor in these operations-suffered acutely from a shortage of salt, which sold at Rs. 10/- a seer in Srinagar.

The brunt of the battle against winter was, however, borne by Indian Army drivers and sappers. In the past, for four winter months of the year, the Banhal pass, chocked with snow, used to remain closed to traffic. The Madras Sappers and Miners valiantly strove to keep this pass, the bottleneck of th eJammu-Srinagar road, clear of the snows.

Thanks to their efforts, from December to the end of March, three convoys, consisting a total of 300 vehicles, got through to Srinagar, Each time, however, a few vehicles at the tail end of the convoy got stuck and remained buried in the snow. The snow fell so thick and fast that not even a 15 fool long pole pieced into the snow mounds could touch the top of the buried vehicles.

Though the wnter battle had been won, the melting snows brought forth a new problem for the Indian Army engineers and lorry drivers to contend with. While the Banihal Pass was cleared of snow, the 200 mile tenuous road, hewn in the side of the Himilayan ranges was not plagued with landslides. Large chunks of mountain, with trees, boulders and all, slipped on to the road and completely obliterated it.

The sppers and the poineers were kept busy sweeping these chunks of mountain out of the way, as supply convoys remained held up.

While it froze and covered the Kashmir Valley with a white mantle, winter appeared in a different guise in Jammu. Here it was all slush and quagmire created by the winter rains which impeded mobility and made life miserable for our troops. Abnormal rain even swept away brudges along the life-line from Pathankot and constricted supplies to the troops.

Thus while the Kashmir front hibernated, the activity in Jammu intensified, thanks to the advantages enjoyed by the enemy on this front, in the shape of shorter, better and more numerous lines of communication.

As against the single 75-mile road that we possessed from Jammu to Naushera, which was repeatedly rendered unusable by the winter rains, the raiders relied on shorter lines of communication consisting fo the first class all-weather Jhelum-M<irpur road and Sialkot-Jammu road, besides numerous other tracks to supply their troops.

Stung by their initial reverses against the Indian Army and enjoying as they did many material advantages, the hostiles in Jammu occupied themselves during the winter months in spirited attacks. One or two temporary succesdses were gained by them, as in the case of the recapture of Jhangar. In their own territory they were well entrenched, while our troops remained on the defensive, owin to the limitations imposed by winter.

Winter also gave our commanders, for the first time, some respite to think and plan and regroup. Kept on their toes from the moment the troops landed in Srinagar on October 27, they were kept hurrying about, plugging

in leaks in the hastily prepared defences relieving encircled State Force garrisons and rescuing thousands of refugèes.

Maj. Gen Kalwant Singh, GOC, Jammu and Kashimr Force had valiantly struggled to build up a fighting machine from scratch, even while he fought a well prepared and resolute enemy. Now he gradually geared that machine for planned offensive operations.

Srinagar had been rendered safe. The menace to the Pathankot-Jammu line of communication had been effectively removing. by a forward policy and the institution of a chain of piquest, the Pakistan-Jammu border had been largely sealed off against nuisance raids from across. Our forward positions had been consolidated. The situation in the territory already held by the Indian Army had been stablised and normal life restored.

The task of looking after and administering relief to thousands of rescued refugees also fell largely to the lot of the Indian Army. While Srinagar was blest with communal harmony, the situation in Jammu was complicated by communal tension, which made the task of Gen. Kalwant Singh and his troops all the more difficult.

It was abackwash of the terrible happenings int he adjacement Punjab. As non-Muslim refugees poured into Jammu from across the border, with their harrowing tales of suffering and misery, they produce drepercussions in the State resulting in retaliatory disorders.

As winter gave way to spring, the back has been broken of all these problems, and Gen. Kalwant Singh now planned to move forward.

The first objective of the spring offensive in Jammu was Rajauri, 30 miles north-west of Naushera. The

operation was distinuished by careful and elaborate ground and air planning. The advance began on April 8. The 30-mile stretch of country which the Indian troops had to traverse was thickly woooded and well defended with enemy machine-guns and mortars..

Barwali ridge, seven miles north of Naushera, was the first hurdle. The ridge was held by informed, steel-helmeted hostiles, armed with 3-inch mortars, two medium machine-guns and eight light machine-guns.

The approaches to Barwali ridge were difficult and a frontal attack was necessary. Moving under cover fo heavy fire and effectively supported by tanks, a Dogra battalion charged the enemy's positions and occupied their objective by 4 p.m.

Chingas, half-way to Rajauri, was the next objective. Lying on the old Mughal route linking Naushera and Rajauri, Chingas was the base from which the hostiles and launched their abortive assults on Naushera.

From Barwali ridge the Indian column split up and fanned out, with different strategic features around Chingas and Rajauri as their respective objective. Kumaonis and Jats overcame stiff opposition on a feature parallel to Barwali ridge and reached Katari village over looking Chingas. Chingas itself was entered by armoured cars. The armoured cars found the town in flames. The raiders had resorted to arson and murder before departing. It was a "scorched earth" policy with a vengance.

On the right flank, Rajputana Rifles operating from kot maintained their advance and reduced Mal village. On the morning of April 12, the Jats came down into the chingas valley and after crossing the Tawi captured a hill overlooking Rajauri. An armoured column followed by Kumaonis entered Rajouri late that evening. This

operation saved the lives of 1,200 to 1,500 refugees, mostly women. Of these 300 to 500 had been lined up to be shot when the Indian column arrived.

In this operation, Indian troops had not only to contend with well prepared and well laid enemy positions but also numerious landslides and roadblocks. It cost the hotiles approximately 500 killed and the Indian Army suffered 11 killed and 40 wounded.

The atrocities committed by the hostiles in Rajouri put Baramula in the shade. Our troops expected a warm welcome from 5,000 refugees as well as local inhabitants. When they entered the town, they were appalled by an eerie silence. Rajouri was city of the dead and dying.

Before the hostiles departed, they had carried out a general massacre of the population. Heaps of rubble, mass graves and decomposing corpses told the tale. So did the sword and hatchet wounds and burns on the person of the survicors, who slowly trickled back to their destroyed homes.

Of the 600 houses in to town, half has been destroyed, some by fire and others by picks and shovels. In the bazar, all that was left were a few pots and pans and some cooked chappaties left behind by the raiders in their haste to get out. This was the second massacre that Rajouri had witnessed. The first was staged when the radiers entered the town in the flush of victory.

The enemy reacted to their loss of Rajauri by mounting another determined attack on Jhangar. On April 16, 6000 raiders stormed that outpost, were beaten back, and suffered 200 casualties.

Representating a first thrust into the enemy's jaw. Jhangar became the object of repeated and energetic assaaults by the raiders, who could never reconcile

themselves to the postition and badly needed that vital road junction between Mirpur and Kotli.

The spring in Kashmir was devoted by both sides to building up for the impending burst of operational activity on that front. While the Indian Army was ambitiously planning a drive from Uri in the direction of Domel and Muzaffarabad, the enemy was busy bolstering up his defences to meet this threat and, at the same time, was pushing north-esteard via Gilgit with the intention of opening another front and knocking at the backdoor of the Srinagar Valley.

Gen. Thimayya who was in command of the Srinagar Division projected an offensive directed towards Muzaffarabad on the western border. Brigadier Sen was to advance from Uri along the Domer road, while Brigadier Harbux Singh was to make a wide sweeping right hook via Handawor to Tithwal-a point hardly 18 miles on the northern flank of Muzaffarabad.

Starting on the night of May 17-18 from Handawor, 40 miles north-north-east of Uri, Brigadier Harbux Singh's colummn made good progress, and on May 23 , entered Tithwal, covering 40 miles in six days through difficult roadless country.

The raiders were taken completely by surprise. Thirty-five prisoners, including Lieutenant-Colonel Sikandar Khan and four other ranks of the Pakistan Army, and one 3-inch mortar were captured at tithwal. The enemy casulties in this advance were 67 counted dead, our own 17 killed and 31 wounded.

The capture of Tithwal singnified a major blow to the raiders, as it was dangerously close the Muzaffarabad, their main base, and it disrupted their main line of communication with their forward bases in the north and north-east.

Supporting the direct attack on Tithwal, another column simultaneously advanced towards Trahgam, 20 miles north-west of Handawor. Notwithstanding tough opposition, they pushed on and then stiking towards Tithwal, finally ended up by capturing Nastachan.

Brigadier Sen set out from Uri on May 20, with one battalion north of the Jhelum, two battatlions south of the road and one battalion and one armoured column along the road. There were no illusions about the task assingned to Brigader Sen. Pitted against him was the largest and strongest concentration of the raiders, well equipped and armed with artillery.

There was heavy fighting for features on either side of the road. Some changed hands thrice in one day. Pandu, an important hill feature, 91/2 miles north-east of Uri, was captured on May 23. Her a complete enemy ration and ammunition dump fell into our hands. Two prisoners belonging to the Frontier Force Rifles and the Frontier Regiment of the Pakistan Army were also captured. On May 27, the column advanced up to Ursua, overlooking Chakoti, the raiders' enterched position alaong the road.

The threat to Muzaffarabad, represented by this drive and its initial successes at Tithwas and around Uri, spread panic and alarm in Pakistan and "Azad Kashmir." If the Indian Army were allowed to reach Domel and Muzadffarabad, all would be lost for the cause of the raiders. Pakistan, which till then bad helped the invaders covertly, now came out into the open and flung in more regular Pakistan Army battalions to stem the tide of the Indian Army's drive westward. They alsos brought up 4.2 inch mortars and medium gunds.

Beyond Urusa, the Indian Army met the hard core of enemy resistance in the shape of regular Pakistan battalions. The fighting was fierce and desperate. Our

advance was held up. between May 20 and 27, the enemy losses were, 1, 126 killed, six prisoners captured and a large number wounded. Our own casualties were 51 killed, 80 wounded and four missing-very heavy, compared with the Indian Army's previous record in the Kashmir campaign.

As the advance of the main column came to a halt, a subsidiary column was sent out north of the Jhelum. At the same time, Brigadier Harbux Singh was ordered to strike towards Mazuaffarabad from Tithwal. The former column concerntrated at Pandu on May 29 and captured a 6,875 foot high feature. The enemy was dislodged only after three bayonet charges. His casualties were 20 killed and 35 wounded. his losses in equipment were 16 light machine-guns captured. In the meantime, the column from Tithwal cleared the area north of the Kishenganga.

Then weather took a hand. It rained caselessly for two days, converting dry nullahs into raging streams and grounding our aricraft. Both the columsn were being maintained by air. The operation had to be postponed. The column from Uri returned to its base.

Yet another manoeuvrea was attempted-this time, a left hook. A Gorkha battalion was sent down south along the Uruse nullah, whwile an other battalion advanced to Ledi Gali. Amidst a hail of grenades and bullets, the gorkhas captured the 10,924 foot high Pir Kanti ridge on June 28, with a Kukri charge. The enemy causalities were 54 counted killed; our own 7 killed and 51 wounded.

On July 10, the U.N. Commission on Kashmir arrived in Indian. The Commission appealed to both sides to refrain from offensive actrivity while they carried out their investigatiaons. The Government of indian immediately responded to the appeal and the Indian

Army in Kashmir and Jammu was directed not to undertake fresh offensive action.

Pakistan, however, paid little heed to the appeal and launched a counter-attack at Pandu and recaptured it and also attacked our positions north of Kishenganga in the tithwal area.

Pakistan, which had till now strenously denied direct participation in the Kashmir fighting, confessed to the U.N. Commission that since May the Pakistan Army battalions had been fighting in Kashmir and that the Pakistan Army headquarters were in overall command of the operations in Jammu and Kashmir on thieir side of the line. The reason advanced was that the Indian Army's summer drive constituted a threat to Pakistan interests in Kashmir as well as across the border.

Since the push began on May 17, General Thimayya's troops had cleared a 11-mile stretch of road between Urusa and Uri, and captured Handawor, Kupwara, Keran and Tithwal, and established a forward position within 18 miles of Muzaffarabad and cut the enemy;s line of communication to the north. In terms of territoty, they had liberated 3,500 square miles.

About this time, in Jammu, the activity was still confined to sparring at the enemy, preliminary to bgger things to come. Offensive patrolling around Jhangar, naushera and Rajauri was intensified.

Another attempt was made to relieve Poonch, this time from Rajouri. simultaneously a column from Rajauri and a column from Poonch set out on June 15, and met a at Potha on June 17

The link-up with Poonch, however, proved temporary, as we lacked the requisiste number of troops to maintain it.

All the time Jhangar continued to be the favourite target of the enemy'; artillery practice. On the night of July 3-4, the shelling of Jhangar was more intense than usual. Some 600 shjells were pumped into our positions in Jhangar that night. One of them took the life of Brigadier Mohammad Usman, the hero of the battle of Naushera-and officer who distinguished himdelf as an outsstanding soldier, a fearless leader and popular man who was loved by his jawans and trusted by the local civilian population.

He was the first Brigadier to be killed in Kashmir campaign. At his death there were rejoicings in "Azad Kashmir" territory as well as in PAkistan, as he had become a terror to the enemy. In India he was hailed as a natioanl hero. His body was flown to Delhi, where he was given a State funeral, with full military honours. The Governor-General, the Prime Minister and othe Cabinet Ministers attended the funeral.

The raiders' plans for the summer lay in a different direction-the north-easterly direction. losing all hpes of piercing the Indian Army's steel ring in the west at Uri and in the south-west in Jammu, they sought new adventures in the remote. semi-arctic, barren districts of Baltistan and Ladakh.

Between those districts and the Kashmir valley stood the gaunt, forbidding Himalayan ranges, with a few difficult, fair-weather, snow-covered mountain tracks serving as the only link. Their very inaccessiblity made those districts safe for the activities of the raiders, putting them beyond easy range of the Indian Army's attentions.

The raiders' projected summer campaign had three objectives aimed at dispersal of our forces-opening two more fronts, one in the north vie Gurais and the other in the north-east via Zoji-la, and "bagging" as much territory as possible in Baltistan and Ladakh. Gurais and

Zoji-la are the northern and north-eastern gateways respectively to the Kashmir Valley.

All winter the raiders built up Gilgit, their possession in the northern frontier area, as the base for their summer campaign. Columns of raiders moved down from Gilgit and infiltrated southeards and south-eastwards.

By January, the pressure on the small State Force garrison in Skardu increased. Accompanied by the large number of regugees, the garrison of two companies shut themselves up in the Skardu fort. The raiders encircled the fort and bypassed it on their eastwards movemnt towards Kargil and Lodakh.

Repeated attempts from Srinagar to send relief to the besieged Skardu garrison were foild by the difficult nature of the country, particularly in winter.

Though neither reinforcements nor supplies in any appreciable quantity coudl reach Skardu, the garrison, orderd to fight "to the last man and last round," held on grimly.

In the meantime, bypassing Skardu, the raiders overpowered another small State Force garrison at Kargil and then captured Dras, and thus cleared the way to Ladakh and Leh, its capital, the coveted objective of the eastward drive.

When the raiders infiltrated into the Ladakh district and sskirmished with State Foces, the threat to Leh became immenent. The remanants of the Stat forces dotted all over the Ladakh valley fell back on Leh to strengthen the defence of the twon. From Srinagar were sent two officers and 15 to other ranks to pepare the defences of the town. A party of Buddhist soldires of the Indian Army had alsos been sent to Leh in February.

On May 24, Air Comodore Nehar Sisngh undertook the most daring operation yet in his colourful career-a flight to Leh along an uncharted route, at 23,000 feet and over the world's highest mountian ranges. He flew without even oxygen. Accompanying him on the flight was Gen. Thimayya. Mehar Singh landed on a rough improvised strip in Leh, Constructed by a LAdakhi engineer, 11,554 feet above sea level. Two companies of Gorkhas were flown to Leh by the IAF in May and June.

These meadures were taken in the nick of time. On July 11, 1,000 raiders, armed with a 3.7 howitzer, launched an attack on the outposts of Leh. The attack was repulsed. As the pressure on Leh increased, the demand for supplies and reinforcements became insistent and urgent. Once again, the difficulties of terrain and the winter conditions were the major obstacles.

There were two land routes to Leh. The one from Srinagar passed thorugh the snow-covered 11,578-foot high Zoji Pass and through KArgil. Only 40 out of the 230 miles of the route were motorable. The rest of the journey had to be performed on horse or on foot. The route wends its way between and up and down bleak snow-mantled mountains. With Kargil in enemy hands, this route was out of the question. The second route to Leh was from Manali in Wast Punjab whwich was equally difficult and circutions, running over 200 miles through thick jungle and Himalayan ranges.

Speedy help was the need of the momeny. IAF transport planes became once again ithe only resort. Dakotas, fitted up with improvised oxygen apparatus, opened a ferry service between Srinagar and Leh. Landing on a strip, 11,500 feet high, was no picnic. The aricraft kept their engines running while unloading and reloading for if the engines were swtched off, they might not restart at that altitude.

The Leh garrison energitically built up its defences with the hekp of the supplies flown in by IAF. Ladakhi Muslims and Buddhist volunteers were ogranised and trained into a local militia to fight side by side with the Indian and State forces.

Almost simultaneously with their eastward drive, the raiders moved down south from Gilgit into the Gurais valley, and passing over the Razdhanangan Pass got Tragbal, overlooking Bandipur, in the Wular Lake region, 35 miles north of Srinagar.

Gen. Thimayya, in the maintime, got ready to meet this threat from the north. Soon after the devasting air strike which had driven the enemy out of Tragbal,Army engineers "got cracking" on a jeep track to Tragbal, 10,000 eet above sea level.

The first jeep motored to Tragbal on May 21. Mules and porters carried ammunition and supplies another eight miles to Razdhanangan, where was established the base for our operations. Two infantry battalions and a mountain battery were concentrated for the job. Facing our troops and entrenched in the Gurais valley wer five companies of the Frontier Constabulary, 250 Chitral Scouts and 300 Gilgit Scouts, well armed and equipped and led by regular Pakistan Army officers.

Gurais is a valley through which flows the Kishenganga, dominated on either side by a series of ranges of the Himalayas, running parallel to each other and nowhere below 11,000 feet, with most of them snow-covered all the year around. D-Day was June 25. The operation largely consisted of climbing up and wresting rrom the enemy a series of steep snow-mantled features. The process began with the capture of Menon Hill and Shete Hill and culminated in the conquest of the forbidding 14,218 foot high peak, Kesar. This peak was

assaulted by our troops in a blizzard in the middle of the night.

Wet and shivering, the Indian Army troops kept up the momentum of their advance under a hail of machine-gun and mortar fire and were in Gurais by June 28. Behind the capture of Gurais lies the story of phenomenal endurance and perseverance by the Indian Army troops and their engineers. It was a mountaineers' war fought in arctic conditions. Our troops were poorly clad for that kind of winter. Forty-five mules died in the cold and the mountain gunds had to be man-handled in blizzsard and snow.

The fleeing raiders left behind a trail of their dead. The raiders also lost heavily in equipment and supplies. The most preciosu booty captured by out troops was the Frontier constabulary blankets. Almost following on the heels of our advancing troops, Indian Army engineers unrolled a jeep track, frm Bandipur to Gurais, distance of 42 miles, within four weeks.

In the north-east, the raiders penetrated the Zoji-la and infiltrated into the Sonamarg valley. The Patialas guarding this gateway to Srinagar reacted energetically. They immediatelay engaged them and chased them beyond the Zoji-la. The Patialas mounted guard at the Zoji Pass by establishing piquests at 16,000-foot high peaks, whwile a jeep track crept towards then from Sonamarg.

On August 14, the Skardu garrison was at last overwhelmed and surrendered to sheer weight of numbers. The State Force troops resisted till the last, with no hope of either relief or victory.

With the fall of Skardu, as apprehended, the raiders doubled their pressure on Leh. In August anothe rcompany of Gorkhas was flown into Leh. In the same

month two more companies of Gorkhas plus 800 rifles were also sent to Leh along the 203 mile mountain track via Manali in East Punjab. Yet another column followed them along the same route on September 12, with 400 mules and, 1,000 porters. Thus the defence of Leh were reinforced betimes to meet the danger.

As the precious summer months were fading out, the Indian Army had the satisfaction of securing the safety of the Kashmir Valley against invasion from the north and the north-east.

But two important jobs still remained outstanding. Both the tasks had to be accomblished before winter, if a calamity were to be averted. These were (a) reopening the road from Srinagar to Leh and removing the meance to the Buddhist district of Laakh, and (b) the relief of the Poonch garrison, which had gallantly held out for a year aginst repeated assa ılts.

The Zoji Pass, 64 miles north-east of Srinagar, which links the Kashmir Valley with Ladakh, is dominated by high peaks on either side and is abaout two miles long, debouching into the Gumri basin.

Indian troops effectiv controlled the western approaches to the Zoji-la, but the raiders held three ridges aroung the pass.

With plenty of time to choose their defensive positions, the raiders had sited their weapons to cover the defile along which our troops would have to advance.

Several attempts at the treduction of the enemy positions having failed it was then decided that movemnt from our side was possible only by night or under cover of fire from tanks. The first alternative was ruled out as the hours of the night would prove insufficient for completion of the operation.

the second alternative workable, if only the tanks could be brought up to thos height and all the distance froam Jammu. The tanksa coudl sit in the pass with impunity, ignoring the enemy small-arms fire, and blanket his bunkers with shells, whwile our infantry advanced. But if tanks wer to be brought, a road had to be constructed.

The bold decision was taken. In less than two months, the Thangaraju road- named after Major Thangraju whao planned the project-from Baltal to zoj—la, was laid down. At place the road had to be hewn out of sheer rock.

From Jammu to Baltl, seven, Stewart ("Honeys") tanks travelled a distance of 260 miles incognito and under strict secrecy. They were covered with shrouds to conceaal their identity. On the way, the tanks negotiatied the final Ramban bridge.

From Baltal to Zoji-la, the tanks negotiated their way around slippery hairpin bends and up a gradient of 3,000 feet in four miles.

D-Day was October 20. Tain and snow on Obtaber 20 compleeled postponemnt of the operation, and at one time it looked as though it could not be launched untilo the follwoing spring. November 1 was fixed as the last posible date for launching the operation, because any delay beyond that date woudl have made stocking across the Zoji-la impossible, as the pass became blcked with snow in december.

Fortunately the weather cleared up in time, and under the natural cover of cloud, the tanks moved out at 10 a.m. on November 1. It was snowing as the tanks mounted the Zoji-la track. From the jeephead, the road constructed by our sappers meandered foreard for two miles.Whether any track existed beyond that point nobody knew.

The tanks moved forward, crossed the Zoji-la and gingerly stepped on to the "no man's land" in the Gumri basin. Solely rilying for guidance on air reconnaissance reports, the tanks forged ahead through snowdrifts, glaciers, mountain streams and over bouklers to reach the foot of Chabutra Hill.

The enemy opened up a barrage of fire, which recochetted harmlesly off the tank armour. Then the tank guns barked and systematically destroyed about 25 enemy bunkers and seized full control of Gumri by midday. Behind the tanks, the infantry moved in without much opposition.

The enemy eas surprised and demoralised by the sight of the taanks in Gumri, which he had never expected. At 9 p.M. on November 1 Patialas under the command of Lieutenant-Colonel Sukhdeo Ssingh, set out from the Gumri Basin. Walking surreptitiously thorughout the night, a company of Patialas reached Machoi and covered the enemy from henihd.

On finding themselves encircled on all sides, the hostiles were completely demoralised. Those who tried to flee were good targets for out fiflemen, others surrendered and saved their loives. On the "North Ridge our troops foudn a dimantled 3.7 howitser. The enemy was obviously trying to carry it in parts whwile running away to safety.

The Patialas rested at Machoi on November 2 as they were on dry raitons for mor than 40 hours and the Rajputs under the command of Lieutenant-Colonel Girdhari Sisngh pushed towards Matauan, six miles to the north-east of Machoo. Matayan eventually fell into our hands on November 4 at 3 p.m.

Covering over ten miles of rugged terrain infested with enemy snipers, and wiping out all opposition, the

Indian forces reached the Dras plain at 4.20 p.m. on Novemeber 15. Our Force Comander, delegation of two villagers from Dras who welcomed the Indian tgroops and announced that the hostiles had cleared out of Dras at 2.p.m.

On reaching Dras our troops recovered riflies, Bren-guns, 650 cases of 3-inch and 2-inch mortar bombs, blankets, ground-sheets, warm jackets, medical stores and 3,000 maunds of firewood.

During the entire operation,IAF aircarft give clse support to our marching collumns and strafed enemy dug-in gun and mortar positions on the mountains slopes on either side of the defile in Zoji-la as troops pushed forward. IAF aircraft also dropped thousands of leaflets on dras and surrounding areas, advising the local population not to abandon their homes.

Counting the moopping up of hostile pockets beyond Dras, Indian troops, on the morning of November 23, established positions at KArgil, the important trade and communication centre situated on the track leading to Skardu in the north, Dras and Srinagar in the west and Leh in the east.

Meanwhile, from the other side, consoliding their positions in the Nubra valley, Indian troops cleared hostiles from Khalatse, 50 miles west of Leh. Khalaste, situated at the track junction from Gilgit and Skardu in the north-west and from Srinagar, Dars and Kargil in the south-west, is the gateway to Leh.

Now only 45 miles of tortuos snow-covered mountain track lay between our troops in Kagil and those in Khalaste. Moving along this track, ana Indian Aamy patrol from Khalatse establsihed contact with out forward troops at Kargil on November 24. The Indian troops then busied themselves with combing out the region for hostiles.

Thus the land-link between Srinagar anf Leh was established after nearly six months. In the entire operation, the enemy suffered a total of 318 killed and 206 wounded. One enemy 3.7 howitzer one 4.2-inch mortar, one 3-inch mortar and two-2 inch mortars and 14 rifles were captured. Our casualties were 40 killed , 86 wounded and 37 listed as nissing. Casualities from forest-boite were 350.

In Jammu, Gen. Atma Singh launched his elaborately planned offensive for the relief of Poonch. By September, the hostile ring around Poonch had tightened and it threatened to strangle the garrison. The enemy brought up 25-pounders and put airstrip-the only link with the outside world-out of commission. Intelligence and air reconnaissance reports indicated a heavy build-up in Bagh, an enemy base north-west of Poonch, with the obvious intention of extracting the thorn on their side, which was the Poonch garrison.

The first phase in the operation for the relief of Poonch comprised the capture of Thana Mandi, 12 miles north of Rajauri. After two days push, Thana Mandi was secured. its fate was sealed when Kumaonis captured point 7,710. This feature had been strongly held by two enemy companies armed with two 3 inch mortars and four machine-guns.

With Thana Mandi in our possession, hostile pockets in the Riasi district east of the Thana Mandi-Rajauri track, were already in the bag, being cut off and isolated from their bases.

Now preparations for the second phase of the operation were under way. The operation was to be carried out in three phases; the capture of Pir Badesar and Pir Kalewa, the capture of Sangiot and its conversion into a firm base, and the final break-through and link-up with Poonch.

The enemy strength facing them was reported to be two battalions east of Rajauri-Thana Mandi, one brigade west of Rajauri, one brigade in Mendhar, on the way to Poonch, and one brigade south of Poonch.

Pir Badesar, 5,432 feet high, was a stronghold of the hostiles, over-looking the entire Naushera and Seri valleys north-east of Jhangar. The operation was launched under the command of Brigadier Harbhajan Singh on the night of October 14-15. In moonlight, a column of our troops, mostly Gorkhas, marched through difficult, mountationous, Trackless country on to the enemy-held Giran village. A half-asleep sentry challenged our leading section and asked for the password. A burst of bullets was the answer he received. A moment later, there was a fierce exchange of fire. Before long, the last of the enemy fled, leaving behind his dead, dying and wounded.

After a series of skirmishes, which added to the demoralisation of the enemy, our advance column of Kumaonis was fast scaling Pir Badesar, and an our before sunset, they were on top. The enemy's losses in this operation were 102 killed and 9 prisoners and 27 rifles captured.

The Pir Kalewa, a commanding feature astride the Rajauri-Thana Mandi road, was captured by another brigade on the afternoon of October 26. This was comparatively an easier job, the enemy's losses being four killed and many more believed killed and wounded.

After consolidating their successes at Pir Badesar and Pir Kalewa and dispatching more men to defend the Pathankot-Chhamb stretch of the Jammu-Pakistan border, the Indian Army resumed the offensive to the link-up with Poonch.

The next phase of the operation, i.e. the capture of

Sangiot, was altered, as the sappers preferred to build a road to Poonch via Mendhar. The enemy had one strong brigade located in Mendhar, and another brigade at Ramgarh.

On the night of November 7-8, 5 Brigade moved forward to secure the right flank of Mendhar, while 19 Brigade took up the task of securing the left flank. The Rajauri column was detailed to capture Ramgarh fort and features in the vicinity, to protect the left flank of 19 Brigade. Mean-while, the battalion at Pir Bdesar was demonstrating towards Thana Mandi. Bhimber Gali and Ramgarh were to be taken in the first bound and Bhimber Gali was then to be made into a firm base for further advance.

After encountering heavy resistance from hostiles, the columns moved forward. As the sun was dipping behind the hills, Bhimber Gali itself was in our hands. Our positions were consolidated during the night and the next day, November 9, point 6,207 was taken. the capture of Point 6,207 gave us a clear view of an enemy concentration in Turti, about six miles south of Mendhar. One thousand hostiles with animal transport concentrated in the area presented an ideal target for our guns and mortars. The enemy fled in utter confusion, leaving behind at least 60 dead.

The total of enemy casualties in the course of the 18-mile Indian advance from Rajauri to Bhimber Gali was 175 killed, many more wounded and 20 taken prisoner. Large quantities of stores and equipment, including standard and paratroop rifles, 3-inch mortar bombs, small-arms ammunition, signal cable and foodstocks fell into our hands. The enemy also left behind loads of anti-Indian hate-propaganda posters and leaflets.

The Rajauri column encountered heavy opposition at Ramgarh fort, five miles north-west of Rajauri, and the

surrounding heights. The fort area, on top of a steep, pine-clad projection, was defended, by three hostile battalions. The resistance was broken and the fort itself captured by midday on November 9.

Two hundred hostiles were believed to have been killed in the fight for Ramgarh. The booty included 5,00 rounds of small arms ammunition, 38 3-inch mortar bombs, five to six miles of cable, one loudspeaker and chairs and tables and a Pakistan flag.

With Ramgarh in our hands, Indian troops from Chingas and the Pir badesar area linked up with Ramgrah, thus removing the large enemy bulge towards Rajauri.

At Bhimber Gali, the Indian forces resumed their advance along both the flanks.

With the enemy well entrenched and the approach to it most difficult, a frontal attack appeared to be the only alternative, with the inevitable accompanying loss of lives. The enemy was also holding features south of Mendhar in greater strength. The plan was accordingly changed and 19 Brigade was ordered to perform a right hook.

The night of November 19-20 was selected as the D-Day for final link-up operations. 168 BRIGADE FROM Poonch advanced and captured features south of Poonch. 5 Brigade captured point 5,982 and effected the link-up with the Poonch column at 2 P.M. on November 20, 19 Brigade captured Topa ridge. Mendhar itself was secured on November 23 and the features south of Mendhar were also taken. and Brigadier Pritam Singh, the defender of Poonch, and Brig. Yadhunath singh, commanding the leading relief column, shook hands. At Topa ridge the Indians captured one medium machine-gun, two 3-inch morars, 20,000 rounds of small-arms ammunition, 200 mortar bombs, 60 grenades, 200 blankets and 20 mules.

Though the Commander of the Poonch garrison had shaken hands with the Commander of the relief column, a lot of work yet remained to be done to insure the link-up and the safety of Poonch. The hostiles still had the town within range of their shells. To remove this threat, on November 25, an attack was launched on Salotri ridge. The ridge was taken after overcoming stiff resistance. Along with it came more booty-one bren-gun and two V.B. magazines, two spare barrels, two rifles, 2,300 rounds of small arms ammunition, cables, a microphone and a wireless set.

The capture of Salotri ridge exposed the enemy gun positions, and he had to pull them out. After the link-up, the Poonch garrison freed Suran and Mandi valleys astride the tracks to the north to Kashmir.

Having accomplished their appointed tasks in Jammu and Kashmir the Indian Army was now again on the defensive. While every enemy attack on our positions was resolutely repulsed, Indian troops, under strict roders from the Army headquarters, refrained from embarking on any fresh offensive operations. But IAF kept a strict vigil over enemy territory. Enemy concentrations were strafed around Kotli and Bagh with the object of dissolving their build-up for offensive activity in western Jammu.

On December 14-while the cease-fire was still under negotitation between India and Pakistan-the hostiles laid down the biggest artillery bombardment of the campaign on our positions around Naushera. They used 5.5 medium guns, a complete regiment of 25-pounders, 3.7 heavy ack-ack guns and 75 mms from medium tanks. Bewtween 11.15 a. m. and 8 p.m. that day, the hostiles fired 2,500 shells into an area seven miles radius of Naushera. At the farthest point, they picked on targets at Beri Pattan ten miles south-east of Naushera.

Simultaneously, Pakistan's Sherman tanks fired at our positions from an area two miles south-west of Sadabad. They were engaged and disperesed by Indian gunners. IAF aircraft on reconnaissance also encountered heavy ack-ack fire from 40 mm anti-aircraft guns.

The cease-fire came into force a minute before midnight on the first day of the year 1949, which brought to a close a 15 month gruelling campaign for the Indian Army. Launched upon within a month and a half of the country's freedom, under every imaginable handicap and without any planning whatsoever, the Kashmir campaign was a fiery test for free India'a Armed Forces. Out of the test they emerged with flying colours.

When on October 26, 1947, the Maharaja signed the instrument of accession and the Governor-General of India accepted it, the defence of Kashmir as an integral part of the country became the concern of the Government of India. And when Indian troops were flown to Srinagar on the morning of October 27, to drive the raiders out of the State, there was a sharp reaction to this move from the side of Pakistan. Mr. Jinnah who had moved up from Karachi to Lahore to be nearer the scene of operation and to watch the swift march of raiders on to Srinagar, seems to have felt greatly dejected at their failure to achieve the objective. He, therefore, in a moment of bitter disappointment ordered the acting commander-in-chief of his forces, General Sir Douglas Gracery, to dispatch troops to Kashmir. the General being fully aware of the shortcomings of the troops which were under his command and were still disorgansied and badly equipped, was not prepared to obey Mr. Jinnah's instructions without the approaval of Marshal Auchinleck, who was the supreme commander in charge of administering the partition of the Indian Army. Auchinleck flew to Lahore at the express requst of

General Cracey and succeeded in persuading Mr. Jinnah to cancel the order.

Mr. Jinnah there upon turned to diplomatic negotiations and invited Lord Mountbatten and Prime Minister Nehru to Lahore for a discussion on the situtation. Pandit Nehru could not undertake the journey due to ill-helth and so Lord Mountabatten went alone to Lahore where on November 1, he had a long session with Mr. Jinnah.

Mr. Jinnah presented a three point proposal - a cease fire, withdrawal of the force of Indian Dominion and the tribesmen, and a plebiscite under the joint control of the two Governors-General. Lord Mountbatten declined to accept the proposals pointing our his constitutional inability to act without consulting his Cabinet. Lord Mountbatten during the course of discussion, however, asked the common-sense question of how Mr. Jinnah could be responsible for withdrawing the tribesmen if he had no control over them, to which Mr. Jinnah replies, "if you do this, I will call the whole thing off."

It was at this meeting that Lord Mountabatten suggested that a plebiscite be held under the auspices of the United Nations. But Mr. Jinnah promptly rejected the idea.

Pakistan's Aggression on Kashmir

Meanwhile it was becoming increasingly clear to Indian forces engaged in driving out the tribal raders, that Pakistan was giving all-out support to them in the shape of transport, arms, ammuntion and military leadership. Inseveral sectors Pakistan soldiers without uniform were actively fighting the Indians. Heavy artillery and anti-aircraft guns were freely brought into action and the Pakistan bases across the borders were used to build up reserves and supplies for the hostiles. The Indian army had captured prisoners, arms and documents inthe

course of their advance, proving that Pakistan was directly concerned in operations against India in jammu and Kashmir State.

"That Pakistan", reported the London Times, "is unofficially involved in adiding the raiders is certain. Your correspondent has first hand evidence that arms, ammunition and supplies are being made available to the Azad Kashmir forces. A few Pakistani oficers are also helping to direct their operations.... And however much the Pakistan Government may disavow intervention, moral and material support is certainly forthcoming."

Then there is the evidence of an American Air force Sergeant, Mr. Haight, who enlisted as a volunteer with the raiders and actively fought against Indian forces, with the rank of Brigadier-General. After some months while on his way to America he revealed to the correspondent of the New York Times, that "gasolene-scarce and strictly rationed commodity-was supplied plentifully to the raiders by the Pakistan authorities..... Mr. Haight also found Pakistan Army personnel runnings the Azad Kashmir radio station, relaying message through their own Pakistan Army receivers, organising and managing Azad encampments in Pakistan, and supplying uniforms, food, arms and ammunition which, he understood, came from Pakistan Army stores through such subterfuges as the 'loss' of ammunition shipments."

"Five years later in the summer of 1952, the Khan of Mamdot claimed from the Pakistan Government of India had only two alternatives if they were to expel the invaders from Kashmir soil which after the accession was Indian territory. They had either to carry the war into the enemy's camp, namely Pakistan territory which was furnishing the raiders with not only men and material, but also with bases of operation, or they had to dissuade Pakistan from giving this aid to them.

In his several telegrams. Pandit Nehru appealed to the Prime Minister of Pakistan to deny assistance to the invaders. But all these efforts failed.

Anxious for a peaceful settlement, India offered various proposals, none of which was accepted by Pakistan. Any action by India to attack the bases of the invaders in Pakistan would have meant direct conflict with pakistan. The Prime Minister of India, in a letter dated the 22nd of December, 1947, informed the Prime Minster of Pakistan that if Pakistan did not deny to the invaders assistance and the use of Pakistan territory for operations against the State, India would be compelled to take such action, consistent with the provisions of the United Nations Charter, as it might consider necessary to protect its interests. There was no response from the Pakistan Prime Minister. On january 1, 1948, India submitted a formal complaint to the Security Council under Chapter VI of the Charater, as India was anxious to avoid a direct conflict with Pakistan Prime Minister. On January 1, 1948, India submitted a formal complaint to the Security Council under Chapter VI of the Charter, as India was anxious to avoid a direct conflict with Pakistan.

All proposals and offers for resolving the situtation which India had made in her dircet approaches to Pakistan, naturally lapsed when India took the matter to the Security Council.

The Government of India, in its complaint to the Security Council stated :

> "In order that the objective of expelling the invader from Indian territory and preventing him from launching frest attacks should be qickly achieved, Indian troops would have to enter Pakistan territory : only thus could the invaders be denied the use of bases and cut off from their sources of supplies, and

reinforcements, in Pakistan. Since the aid which the invaders are receiving from Pakistan is an act of aggression against India, the Government of India are entitled, in international law, to send their armed forces across. Pakistan territory for dealing effectively with the invaders. However, as such action might involve armed conflict with Pakistan, the Government of India, ever anxious to proceed according to the spirit of the Charter of the United nations, desire to report the situation to the Security Council in accordance with the provisions of Article 35 of the Charter. They feel justified in requesting the Council to ask the Governemtn of Pakistan:

(1) to prevent Pakistan Governemtn personnel, military and civil, participating in or assisting he invasion of Jammu and Kashmir State:

(2) to call upon other Pakistan nationals to desist from taking any part in the fighting in Jammu and Kashmir State:

(3) to deny to the invaders:

(a) access to and use of its territory for operations against kashmir;

(b) military and other supplies;

(c) all other kinds of aid that might tend to prolong the present struggle."

When the Security council took up the matter for consideration, pakistan emphatically denied that it had any part in the invasion of Jammu and Kashmir. The pakistan foreign Minister, Sir Mohd. Zafrullah Khan, informed the Security Council that:

> "...the Pakistan Government emphatically deny that they are giving aid and assitance to the so-called invaders or have committed any act of aggression

against India. On the contrary and solely with the object of maintaining friendly relations between the two dominions the pakistan Governemtn have continued to do all in their powers to discourage the tribal movement by all means short of war."

He, however, brought forth counter-charges against India, particularly its attitude towards Pakistan. Junagarh and Muslims in general. he pleaded that the Kashmir situation should be viewed in this broader perspective as it was a part of the deliberately hostile policy adopted by India towards Pakistan since partition.

In its resolution dated January 17, 1948, which was accepted by pakistan and India, the Security Council called upon Pakistan and India :

(i) "to take immediately all measures within their powr (including public appeals to their people) calculated to improve the situtation and to refrain from making any statements and from doing or causing to be done or permitting any acts which might aggravate the situation; and

(ii) to inform the security Council immediately of any material change in the situatio which occurs or appears to either of them to be about to occur while the matter is under consideration by the Council, and consult with the Council thereon."

Between January 22 and February 4, the Security Council held eight meetings on this matter. A number of draft resolutions were put forward by the members which were greatly weighed in favour of pakistan. The Ccuncil continued to give patient hearing to Pakistan. The Council continued to give patient hearing to Pakistan's numerous complaints. The real issue was being obscured. as the Prime Minister of India put it, "the nations of the world sitting on that body got lost in power politics."

Meanwhile fighting continued in Kashmir. On India representative's return from new where be had gone for consulation with the Government of India, the Security Council on March 10, resumed its consideration of the Kashmir situation. After several meetings a joint draft resolution was produced by the Security council on-April 17, which declared that the situation in Jammu and Kashmir was likely to endanger international peace and security, and therefore the Council recommended the setting up of a Commission of five members "to proceed at once to the Indian sub-contient and there place their good offices and mediation at the disposal of the Governments of India and Pakistan."

India, However, rejected the draft resolution as in the owrds of the Indian representative, mr. Ayyangar, "it tars us with the same brush and makest us look like the co-accused." pakistan also objected to the resolution, and considered that the measures recommended were not adequate to ensure a free and impartial plebiscite. But in spite of objections from India and pakistan, the resolution was adopted by the Security Council on April 21.

By May 7, the membership of the United Nations Commission on India and pakistan (UNCIP) was completed. The Government of India informed the Security Council that it would not be possible to implement those parts of the resolution against which it had already objected. "If, however, the Commission was sent, the Government of India would be glad to confer with it."

"When at last the Commission was dispatched to India and Pakistan, it found the situation politically and militarily quite different from what the Security Council had thought it to be when it passed its mild and necessarily non-committal resolution in April."

For, when the Commission landed in Karachi on

July 5, 1948, they got "the first bombshell. Sir Zafrulla Khan informed the Commission that three Pakistani brigades had been on Kashmir territory since May. he explained the measure as an act of self-defense."

Earlier the same Pakistan Foreign Minister had solemnly declared before the Security Council that Pakistan had no part in the invasion of Jammu and Kashmir and had even denied the giving of assistance to the irregulars. Persistent denials by pakistan might have temporarily misled the unsupecting and the unwary; but once the U. N. Commission arrived on the sub-continent of India, the facts could no longer be concealed.

Later in their resolution of August 13, the Commission at last recognised the falsity of Pakistan's denials in the following words:

> "As the presence of troops of Pakistan in the territory of the State of Jammu and Kashmir constitutes a material change in the situtaion since it was represented by the Government of Pakistan before the Security Council, the Government of Pakistan agrees to withdraw its troops from that State."

Two years later on Septemebr 5, 1950, Sir Own Dixon, who succeeded the Commission as U.N. Representative for India and pakistan, reached a similar conclusion :

> "........When the frontier of the State of Jammu and Kashmir was crossed ....by the hostile elements, it was contrary to international law and when in May, 1948, units of the regular Pakistan forces moved into the territory of the State, that too was inconsistent with international law."

The Cease-Fire

The fihting in Kashmir had become more extensive and more serious The Commission, therefore, addressed itself

to bringing about a cease-fire, and in pursuance of this objective had several meetings with the Governmetns of India and Pakistan. Finally after careful consideration they adopted a resolution on the 13th August, 1948. The government of India accepted this resolution by a letter dated the 20th August, 1948, while Pakistan declined to accept it. They were banking upon the success of their arms in Kashmir, having launched an all-out offensive to defeat the Inidan forces and capture the State. Pakistan was thus directly responsible for postponing the cease-fire and for prolongation of hostiliites

By the fall of 1948, Pakistan High Command was convinced that it could not attain its objective by force, and thereupon they gave greater heed to the negotations and the UNCIP formulated a further resolution of Jan. 5, 1949, to supplement the earlier resolution of August 13, 1948. The draft of this further resolution was accepted by the Government of India on 23rd Decemebr and by Pakistan on 25th December, 1948. India, however, accepted the resoulutions, subject to the assurances contained in the correspondence between India and the Commission. As the terms of the resolution were accepted by both the Governments before it was actually passed by the Commission, a cease-fire was ordered from 1st January. 1949

The Basic Resolution of August 13, 1948

The assurances given to the Prime Minister of India by the Commission wer public and known to Pakistan. These assurances the basis of which alone India accepted the two Resolutions, and which form part of the reports of the Commission and are official records of the Security Council, included the following:

(i) Responsibility for the security of the State of Jammu and Kashmir rests with the Government of India.

(ii) The sovereignty of Jammu and Kashmir Government over the entire territory of the State shall not be brought into questin.

(iii) There shall be no recognition of the so-called Azad (Free) Kashmir Government.

(iv) The territory occupied by Pakistan shall not be consolidated to the disadvantage of the State of Jammu and Kashmir.

(v) The administration of the evacuated areas in the north shall revert to the Government of Jammu and Kashmir and its defence to the Government of India who will, if necessary, maintain garrisons for preventing the incursion of tribesmen, and for guarding the main trade routes.

(vi) Pakistan shall be excluded from all affairs of Jammu and Kashmir in particular in the plebiscite, if one should be held.

(vii)If a plebiscite is found to be impossible for technical or practical resason, the Commission will consider other methods of determining fair and equitable conditions for ensuring a free expression of the people's will.

(viii)Plebisicite proposals shall not be binding upon India if Pakistan does not implement Parts I and II of the resolution of 13th August, 1948.

The legality of the State's accession to India was never questioned by the Security council or the Commission. In fact, on February 4m 1948, the U.S. Representative in the Security Council said:

> "The external sovereignty of Kashmir is no longer under the control of the Maharaja.....with the accession of Jammu and Kashmir to India, this foreign sovereignty went over to India and is

> exercised by India, and that is how India happens to be here as a petitioner."

The Legal Adviser to the U.N. Commission came to the conclusion that accession was legal and could not be questioned. The Commission recognised this position in its report and and its two resolutions of August 13, 1948. and january 5, 1949, as also the consequential position that Pakistan had no locus standi in the State except that of an aggressor.

The basic resolution of August 13, 1948, is in three parts. part I requires a cease-fire, non-augmentation of military potential on either side and the maintenance of a peaceful atmosphere. Under part II Pakistan had to withdraw all her forces, regular and irregular, while India was required to keep sufficient troops for the security of the State including the observance of law and order. part III provided as follows:

> "The Government of India and the Government of Pakistan reaffirm their wish that the future status of Jammu and Kashmir shall be determined in accordance with the will of the people and to that end, upon acceptance of the Truce Agreement both Governments agree to enter into consultation with the Commission to determine fair and equitable conditions whereby such free expression of wil be assured."

Obvioulsy Part III of the resolution could come into focus only after parts I and II had been fully implemented. the resolution of January 5, 1949, being subsidiary and supplementary to the resolution of August 13, 1948, was merely an elaboration of the principle contained in part III and-had no paractical significance till the resolution of August 13, 1948, was fully implemented. The word 'plebiscite' does not occur in Part III of the resolution of August 13. As recorded to do so even today; Pakistan

also refused to implement Part II going back on the obligation of vacating the aggression. In further implementation of the resolution of 13th August, 1948 and its supplementary of 5th January, 1949, Admiral Nimitz of United States of America was nominated as Plebiscite Administrator in March, 1949, and United Nation Military Observers were sent out to assist in establishing the cease-fire line and to investigate reports of its violation. By Jyly, 1949, the cease-fire line had been demarcated.

12

Line of Control

Srinagar saw its first cinema hall opening for business in nine years. But rather than spread cheer, in the surrounding theatre of violence, it only made for the blackest of ironies. For, the week also saw the most disturbing episodes yet in Pakistani's proxy war in Jammu and Kashmir. The frontiers were on the boil like never before and the civilian death toll since March, when the BJP came to power, stood at 157. At least eight major strikes by militants belied the government's electoral pledge to bring, peace to Kashmir. The May 11 nuclear tests and the "proactive policy" spelt out by Union home minister L.K. Advani seemed only to have provoked a deliberate, taunting escalation in violence, with the postnuclear toll itself at 102.

But the most worrisome event in this string of setbacks came not in Kashmir, but in neighbouring Himachal Pradesh, as foreign mercenaries massacred 35 innocent laboureres in Chamba, abutting the new trouble zone of Doda, on August 3. This marked the first time insurgents had struck on such a large scale outside the state, and naturally raised questions about the efficacy of the government's antimilitancy strategy. Add to this the 100-plus civilian deaths caused by the latest spurt of firing along the Line of Control (LoC) and the picture that emerges is that Pakistan is trying, successfully, to keep the Kashmir issue alive and project it as a flashpoint.

Army officers stationed along the LoC say tension has heightened ever since Pakistan went nuclear on May 28. That day, overzealous Pakistani gunners fired at Aroosa village in Uri to celebrate the event. The shelling continued unabated for four days, forcing the 300 odd villagers to seek shelter behind boulders and trees. After a month's lull, the firing was renewed in end July. Firing along the LoC is routine, but the latest exchange of artillery fire has perhaps been the worst in peacetime. Many say this eruption was timed so as to torpedo the talks between the prime ministers of India and Pakistan in Colombo. One strand of thought in Pakistan is that every time there is a whiff of a dialogue, vested interests on both sides do their bit to derail the peace. Says Lt Gen. Sardar F.S. Lodi (retd): "Nawaz Sharif started the peace process after coming to power. Vajpayee doesn't also seem to be a hawk, like some others in his government. So there is a desire for peace but somehow the hawks manage to sabotage these opportunities."

Indian policymakers and military strategists see the flare-up as a logical outcome of Pakistan's drive to seek third party mediation on Kashmir, a demand India has rejected. Since the N-tests and after world attention zoomed back on Kashmir, Pakistan has been playing on the fears of the international community that India or Pakistan could exercise the nuclear option if the region continues to simmer.

While Pakistan wants Kashmir to be the core issue in Indo-Pak ties, India seeks a composite dialogue, a stand which many foreign affairs experts in the country feel is the right one. Says former Indian foreign secretary Muchkund Dubey: "The Indian stand is right. We can't accept Kashmir as a core problem. There are other concerns which Pakistan dismisses as peripheral issues." He feels India should agree to discuss Kashmir by setting up a separate working group. As of now, no progress

has been made, and with the NAM summit in early September and the Jaswant Singh-Talbott talks in August-end, it suits Islamabad if the region is tense.

So, where has the government strategy gone wrong? According to former home secretary N.N. Vohra, the isi's style of operating is well-known to Indian authorities, and what is required is the will to initiate steps and crush the isi. "The pattern of isi operations is known to the unified command set up by the J&K government.

Considering the high stakes on their side, the isi would have no reason to start easing unless most of their existing networks are destroyed and new ones not allowed to come up. We cannot expect a resolution of the problem in weeks. A well-planned counteraction will have to be accompanied by continued diplomatic effort to make Pakistan realise it would not achieve its objective through the means adopted."

With its proactive policy proving ineffective, the home ministry, according to sources, is putting into action a plan which will target foreign mercenaries, who have set up a solid network in the state. Since they are infiltrators, the human rights question will not crop up even if they are singled out.

The home ministry also believes that the army must be more involved in counter-insurgency operations. It points to the fact that a larger presence of the army in the Himachal Pradesh districts adjoining Doda may have prevented the Chamba killings. The need to step up intelligence in the militancy-hit areas has also been identified as a priority area.

But police officials point out that despite the additional troops promised after each of the recent killings, the number of forces in Doda is dwindling. According to Devendar Nargotra, Doda DC, there were 20 battalions of BSF and army in 1997—now there are 14.

Similarly, last year there were 33 companies of the CRPF, which has been reduced to 23 units. As for the J&K Police, the five battalions present in 1997 were reduced to four--now all four have been sent to the sapphire mines in the Paddar valley.

Army officers point out that Doda's difficult terrain and the inadequate security presence are hampering the antimilitancy drive. Mercenaries from across the, border have been able to strike terror from their mountain hideouts. The absence of the J&K Armed Police is also seen as a major handicap since its members know the local language and could have helped the army in combing operations, and also in establishing a better rapport with the villagers.

One major grouse of army officers is that politicians make tall promises on Kashmir which are usually never fulfilled. Points out a senior army officer: "Those areas where the administration has failed to look into the basic needs of the people are the most vulnerable. It is crucial that politicians visit the villages and try to address the problems of the people." Just opening up a movie hall to convey a semblance of normalcy will not do.

Appendix

Even his most ardent admirers are on the defensive and his closest advisors have pointed out to Union home minister LX Advani that by stating (like he did in Parliament last week) he would "step down if the killings in Jammu and Kashmir continue", he may not be well-received by those battling Pakistan-aided insurgents on the ground.

While security and defence personnel feel that such remarks only provide an incentive to militants to intensify their attack on "soft targets", those in the Opposition such as former minister of state for home Rajesh Pilot accuse Advani of not realising "the negative

impact of these off-the-cuff remarks". Perhaps former home secretary N.N. Vohra, who feels that "there is not much point focusing on individuals in such cases", puts the issue in the right perspective. But even he feels that "such serious internal security problems generated by the isi cannot be dealt with on the basis of day-to-day and incident-to-incident responses".

The trouble for the home minister is that this comes only a couple of months after his advice to Pakistan vis-a-vis their waging a proxy war over Kashmir to take note of the changed geo-strategic balance in the region after India's nuclear blasts. A remark that was criticised for "effectively internationalising Kashmir". And the confusion over whether the BJP's "proactive policy" on Kashmir would include hot pursuit.

Senior home ministry officials, while swearing by "the best home minister we have worked under in recent memory," do admit these incidents have queered the pitch. And most seem agreed that Advani is reacting like he is, at least in part, because he is a prisoner of his own hardline image. "This is the man, after all, who through his years in Opposition was at his most strident on Kashmir and accused the government of the day of lacking the political will to combat militancy. Now that he is home minister, as a man of integrity~ he has to say he will step down if the killings do not stop," says a bureaucrat who works with Advani. "By his own logic, Advaniji should either concede that when he accused others of lacking the will he was just doing his duty as an Opposition leader, or admit that lie too is lacking in will," says Pilot, accusing the government of "failing miserably" to contain militancy.

Of course, the pressures on the man for whom it is an article of faith to ensure that India is not looked upon as a "soft state" are many. A section of the Sangh parivar is clamouring for "visible action", while senior Army

and civil authorities emphasise that restraint in words is the only way proactive action can be successfully undertaken. That is what Advani's aides to hope will be his approach.

* * *

Lambs to the slaughter

On August 2, the remote and beautiful Chamba district in Himachal Pradesh was celebrating Meenjai mela, an annual festival to celebrate a good harvest. The district administration had helped in organising the fest--local folk culture in all its colour and pageantry was on display. But everyone seemed blissfully unaware of the changing ground realities. After all, recorded crimes in Chamba rarely exceed cattle theft and the rigid terrain makes it very difficult for the people to register the cases. The token police force, armed with .303 rifles, is hopelessly ill-equipped to tackle a militant strike.

As soft targets go, it could not get easier than that. Political leaders, officials and intelligence agencies in the region had overlooked one crucial fact. That Chamba was separated by a mountain from Jammu, and Kashmir's troubled Doda district, the hotbed of insurgency. Only a week earlier, they had killed 18 in Doda and Kishtwar and must have been tempted to move into unmanned Himachal Pradesh (and Chamba was one of the nearest points) through inaccessible mountain routes.

So, when impoverished road construction workers living in plastic makeshift tents in Kalaban were rudely woken up in the night by a hefty bunch of people, armed with assault rifles, they knew something was amiss. Only, they did not know what was in store, because like everyone else, they believed that whatever happens, Himachal could not become another Kashmir. Recalls

Malti Devi, a daily wage earner who lost her husband: "Suddenly in the middle of the night, flashlights were beamed on us. We were asked to assemble at one place. My husband feigned a leg injury but they caught him. We were all herded into one tent. Women, children and some of our Muslim friends were separated. That just left the men who were taken inside one tent, hands tied and shot through the head. After it was all over, one of them came to me and asked me if I had any valuables. I had a torch, it was taken away."

The toll: 24. As it turned out, it was a night of bloodletting that Himachalis are not likely to forget. The militants left the bodies abducted another four to carry their luggage, and continued towards Satrundi village which leads to a mountain pass that would take them back to Doda. At Satrundi, the militants took out their machetes and swords. Some 10 villagers were woken up, their hands, heads, legs and throats severed. One person who protested had his head blown open by an AK-47 shot at point blank range.

Says Chamba deputy commissioner Tarun Kapoor: "We obviously have to rework our strategy. An attack of this magnitude has not taken place in the state." The question is how? Himachal shares a long border with Jammu and Kashmir with a number of difficult passes, some of which are not even known to authorities.

Compared to it, deployment of security forces is an unknown commodity in Himachal, at least on the scale that is required ,to counter armed and motivated militants. Points out Chamba SP Atul Verma: "Our security needs to be beefed up. It is totally inadequate." There are just four Indian Reserve Battalions of the Himachal Pradesh police in the district and pickets in the deep interiors are virtually useless when it comes to covering ground.

That a serious error of judgement, despite warnings in the past, took place is obvious. According to locals, militants have been steadily nourine into the district in the last couple of years--some of them work as labourers, others live by extortion. Says Karan Singh Thakur of the Sai Koti panchayat: "We had warned the administration. But no one has shown any interest." Military intelligence had also reportedly warned the state government of the presence of militants. Of all the subdivisions in Chamba, Tissa. is the most prone to militant excursions. Last year, 20 persons were kidnapped and taken to Doda only to be released later. On June 23, four persons from Chamba were killed after they were caught on the Doda side.

Even more significant is the beginning of communal polarisation in the Himachal mountains. Local people are now demanding that 'Van' Gujjars, traditionally Muslim nomads who live and roam the highest points in the Himalayas and whose contacts with the world below is minimal, not be allowed to come down. Their reason: militants are using Gujjar 'deras' for shelter and cite the Kàlaban killings to show that some of those massacred were first called out by name, suggesting that there was a local Gujjar with the militants. Admits Kapoor: "We have some unconfirmed reports but they need to be verified."

According to Congress MP K.D. Sultanpuri, "It is a gross administrative failure. The BJP government promised much but delivered little." Says Sat Mahajan, former MP and veteran Himachal politician: "The killings are aimed at dividing the population. They seem to be succeeding." Clearly, the government has a job cut out for itself, because if the militants succeed in infiltrating Himachal, they would have turned L.K. Advani's proactive poll on its head.

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Another round of killings by terrorists from Kashmir--spilling over, on this occasion, into Himachal Pradesh--has been followed by another round of confounded allegations about Pakistan's Machiavellian designs. Political leaders at the highest level now regard the issuance of extravagant threats against Pakistan as part of the standard package of what are considered "responses" to such incidents; that such threats match poorly with the dignity of their office, or that, in the geopolitical circumstances of the subcontinent, such threats can never be carried out, are matters that have no bearing on their postures. The media, with the predictability of a subject of a Pavlovian experiment, drools out denunciations of the isi. Troops are rushed to the area where an incident occurs in a classic, and repeated, case of shutting the barn door after the horse has bolted. Officers of questionable competence and integrity are Posted about in an elaborate pretence of activity. A few weeks later, the terrorists strike somewhere else and the whole charade begins again.

In the meanwhile, nothing changes. A spate of killings in Assam last year had been greeted with the same fruitless ferment. No one would claim that the situation in Assam has, in any significant measure, improved. But Assam has simply slipped out of the severely limited scope of public awareness and political design. Kashmir seems closer, the killings more brutal, and the images of terrorism inspired by a mix of Islamic fundamentalism and pure adventurism, somehow more mesmerising.

I have written time and again on the Kashmir issue, in the hope that somewhere in the aimless maze of the bureaucracy some measure of the ability and commitment to serve the nation may have survived. I must now confess to a sense of complete anger and frustration. Anger, because in a continuously

deteriorating situation, not a spark of intelligence is visible in our response; not a single coherent strategic initiative to stop the daily and mounting slaughter of men, women and children. And frustration, because I know, without any qualifications, that as a nation we can easily crush this wretched insurgency if our actions were not compromised by dubious motives of political leaders and bureaucrats.

The fact, moreover, is that, in matters of strategy, the entire home ministry is quite completely illiterate; and displays no intention of acquiring the requisite experience and expertise to confront low intensity wars anywhere in the country.

The fact, again, is that the home ministry has made itself completely irrelevant to the maintenance of internal security in India, not just at present, but progressively over the last four decades. This is true, irrespective of which government is in power. These people are never part of any solution; and in my own experience, were invariably often the most malignant and infuriating part of the problem. At one point of time in our history, and this was the period in which the seeds of all out present troubles were sown, it was still possible to accept the commitment and integrity of the bureaucracy and political executive. Mistakes were made, but they were largely honest mistakes--the consequence of the limited abilities of individuals, or of a misreading of the situation on the ground. I am now convinced that this no longer holds true, especially in the context of Kashmir. I see utterly discredited politicians and bureaucrats in critical positions of authority in Kashmir, and their actions do not suggest a clear conscience. To my mind, under the prevailing circumstances, no solution to the insurgency in Kashmir can be defined in terms purely of operational strategies. All strategies will be compromised

by those who are presently profiting from strife in the security of political or administrative office.

It's imperative to investigate and reexamine the antecedents of those dealing with Kashmir, irrespective of the positions they hold. The quixotic "strategies" emanating from the home ministry are not going to get us anywhere. Only men of integrity, determination and purpose can lead the state out of the bloody labyrinth in which it has been floundering for almost a decade.

Index